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Hermann Lietz and the Landerziehungsheime

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF John Daniel Flanagan for the Master of Arts in History presented July 24, 1974.

Title: Hermann Lietz and the Landerziehungsheime

APPROVED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

Franklin West, Chairman

Michael F. Reardon

Louis J. Elteto /

The subject of this thesis is Hermann Lietz and the Land-
erziehungsheime. Its purpose is to discover the sources of the Heime in Lietz's life and thought. It seeks to answer the basic question, "Why did Lietz become an educator and what were his motives in establishing the Landerziehungsheime?" The thesis is divided, generally, into three sections. The first attempts to isolate and reconstruct those events in Lietz's biography which were decisive in the shaping of the educator. The second part investigates certain aspects of the

thought of J. G. Fichte, P. de Lagarde and R. Eucken, the three major intellectual influences upon the development of Lietz's idealistic Weltanschauung. The third section considers the Landerziehungsheim itself as a result of the interaction between Lietz's concrete life experience and his philosophical-religious world-view.

The primary sources used in the reconstruction of Lietz's life were his Lebenserinnerungen and Alfred Andreesen's biography, Hermann Lietz: der Schöpfer der Landerziehungsheime. Fichte's Addresses to the German Nation, Robert Lougee's Paul de Lagarde, and Eucken's autobiography, his The Problem of Human Life, and The Main Currents of Modern Thought, along with the commentaries on Eucken's thought by W. T. Jones and M. Booth, have been the major sources for an understanding of the "prophetic" idealism of these thinkers. Herbert Bauer's Zur Theorie und Praxis der ersten Landerziehungsheime, Erich Meissner's Asketische Erziehung, William Brickman's "The Contribution of Hermann Lietz to Education," Gustav Wyneken's "Erinnerungen an Hermann Lietz," and selections from Lietz's books Emlohstobba, Die deutsche National-schule, and Des Vaterlandes Not und Hoffnung, have been the primary sources used in the presentation of the Landerziehungsheime and their relation to the life and thought of Lietz.

The Landerziehungsheime are viewed as developing out of the conflicts and tensions of Lietz's own life. His life is presented in four stages: the early paradisaical childhood spent on the family farm on Rügen; the descent out of this state of preconscious harmony into the division, corruption and loneliness of the urban Gymnasium; followed by the university years where Lietz discovers a new vision

of man and society that resolves the antinomies of the modern industrial world; and the attempt to help realize this ideal through the education of youth. There were two poles to this movement: Lietz's personal experience, on the one hand, and his idealistic world-view, on the other, which gave a meaning and direction to that experience. It was this opposition between life and thought in his own experience which Lietz struggled to resolve by means of the Landerziehungsheime. He unquestionably believed that this same education would also overcome the divisions in German society, of which his own life was an example and a test case.

HERMANN LIETZ AND THE LANDERZIEHUNGSHOME

by

JOHN DANIEL FLANAGAN

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This thesis is dedicated to:

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. A BRIEF SURVEY OF LIETZ'S LIFE

Hermann Lietz was a North German, a Friesländer, born on a farm near Dungenewitz on the island of Rügen on April 28, 1868. He was the sixth of seven children. In 1877 he was sent to Gymnasium on the mainland, first at Greifswald, for two years, then at Stralsund, where he graduated in the spring of 1888. In contrast to the freedom and happiness of his childhood in the country, these gymnasial years in the city were some of the unhappiest of his life.

Lietz began his university career as a student of theology at Halle in the fall of 1888, remaining there for two years (five semesters) before transferring to Jena in the fall of 1890. Here, as a student of theology and philosophy, he studied under Lipsius and Rudolf Eucken. After one year in residence Lietz was graduated magna cum laude with a dissertation, under Eucken's guidance, on August Comte: Die Probleme im Begriff der Gesellschaft bei Auguste Comte im Gesamtzusammenhange seines Systems. He passed his first theological examination in the spring, and the Staatsexamen for teaching theology, philosophy, German and Hebrew at the higher gymnasial levels, in the summer of 1892. The conflicts which his liberal theological stance ^{was} ~~were~~ sure to create for him with the officialdom of the Prussian church discouraged Lietz from attempting to make a career in the Evangelical pastorate. He chose,

instead, to become a teacher. In October, 1892, he entered the pädagogische Universitäts-Seminar of Wilhelm Rein and the Gymnasial-Seminar of Gustav Richter at Jena, completing his course work with them by September, 1893. Meanwhile, in the spring of 1893, he passed his second Staatsexam in theology, and was promoted to the grade of Lizentiaten der Theologie with a work on Gnosticism.

Lietz returned to Rügen for his mandatory Probejahr. He lived at home and taught each day at the Königliches Pädagogium in Putbus, some seven kilometers away. In the fall of 1894 he returned to Jena to work as an Oberlehrer in Professor Rein's Übungsschule. In the summer of 1895 Lietz began teaching at a private school in Kötzschenbroda, near Dresden. After serving for a time as "acting director" of the school, he was fired as a result of a complex series of difficulties and misunderstandings with the owner. He returned home to Rügen in the spring of 1896. While at Dungenewitz he received a letter from Cecil Reddie inviting him to teach German at his New School Abbotsholme near Derby, England, and help him reorganize the curriculum along German lines. The school year 1896-1897 was spent at Abbotsholme. Lietz's first book, Emlohstobba (Abbotsholme, spelled backwards), an enthusiastic portrayal of life at the school, was published in the spring of 1897. Lietz was so inspired by Reddie's example, that he decided to return to Germany and found a similar school, himself. In preparation for this venture he studied chemistry, physical education, drawing, and wood and paperwork in Berlin, lectured on his educational ideas, wrote advertisements for his new school, and sought financial backing for the project. On April 28, 1898, his thirtieth birthday, he opened his first school, Ilsenburg.

Lietz's name for this new type of school was Landerziehungsheim (literally, "educational home in the country"). The experiment was immediately successful. Beginning with six boys in an old mill on the Ilse River, near Ilsenburg in the Harz, by the end of the second year the number of pupils had grown to over sixty. On April 28, 1901, Lietz opened his second Landerziehungsheim, for the older boys, in a rambling country manor, Haubinda, near Meiningen. His third school, Schloss Bieberstein, near Fulda, began operation on April 28, 1904.

It was Lietz's intent to continue founding schools every three years until Germany was covered with Landerziehungsheime. A succession of disasters destroyed these plans. Dissensions with his teachers led to a series of secessions of his most able co-workers: Theodor Lessing in 1903; Gustav Wyneken, Paul Geheeb, Auguste Halm and Martin Luserke in 1906; Gustav Marseille in 1907; Alfred Kramer and Theophil Lehmann in 1908; and Ludwig Wunder in 1911. Fires burned buildings at Ilsenburg in November, 1907, and destroyed Schloss Bieberstein in May, 1908. Constant building projects, combined with Lietz's slipshod accounting methods, almost brought financial ruin to the schools. As a result, he was forced to sell most of the land attached to Haubinda and borrow over half a million Marks, in order to avoid bankruptcy. One of the conditions of the loan was that he found no more schools, but concentrate, instead, on the development of those already established.

In contrast to the hectic years of foundation and conflict, the period from 1909 to 1914 was one of quiet development and consolidation of the Landerziehungsheime. The school magazine, Leben und Arbeit, was founded in 1909. Alfred Andreessen, the later director of the schools,

and Lietz's most valued co-worker, began teaching at Ilsenburg in 1910. The spring of 1911 saw the publication of Lietz's second book, Die deutsche Nationalschule. After a back injury and hospitalization in the fall of 1911, Lietz married Jutta von Petersenn, the daughter of Jenny von Petersenn, an early disciple of Lietz's and founder of the Landerziehungsheim for girls at Gaienhofen. On April 28, 1914, Lietz founded his last school, the Landwaisenheim (literally, "orphan's home in the country") at Veckenstedt in the Harz. To avoid breaking his agreement not to found any new schools, the Landwaisenheim was purchased and operated in his wife's name.

The coming of World War I brought a severe test of the Landerziehungsheime. Despite Lietz's humanitarianism, his international contacts, and particularly close ties with England, he was a passionate supporter of the German war effort. He urged his older pupils to enlist as officers (over 100 of his former students were killed in the war), and enlisted, himself, as a Kriegsfreiwilliger in an infantry unit. Bieberstein was closed, the younger boys being moved to Haubinda. Lietz's response to charges of irresponsibility, in abandoning his schools, was, that if they could not survive without his presence, they did not deserve to continue and should be closed. Actually, the schools grew during the war years. Lietz saw action as a common soldier in a mountain ski unit on the Italian and eastern fronts in 1915. In the fall of 1915 he was sent to officer's school, being commissioned a lieutenant in January, 1916. After spending the bulk of 1916 in garrison duty, he was given a leave of absence and spent the period from the winter of 1916 to October, 1917, at Haubinda. A later short period of active

duty ended with Lietz's hospitalization and discharge due to pernicious anemia.

Lietz returned to his schools disabled and embittered. The certainty of Germany's defeat, her plunge into revolution and civil war, and his own fatal illness resulted in a period of frantic literary activity. During 1918 he wrote Die neue Zeit und das neue Geschlecht, Gott and Welt, Des Vaterlandes Not und Hoffnung, Lebenserinnerungen, and Das deutsche Volkshochschulheim. On April 28, 1919, Schloss Bieberstein was reopened. On the 12th of June, 1919, Hermann Lietz died at Haubinda.

II. SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE ON LIETZ

Lietz's early followers called him "the Pestalozzi of the Germans," and numbered him among the great educators of the past, like Francke, Basedow, Salzmann and Froebel.¹ In their view, Lietz was to be placed among the progressive educators like Dewey, Montessori, Kerschensteiner, Russell, Neill and Hahn. Generally, Alexander and Parker,² Ferriere,³ A. E. Meyer,⁴ and Skidelsky⁵ have adopted this understanding of Lietz. These writers stress his advocacy of a child-centered education, his psychological approach to teaching, his use of new teaching methods in the languages, history, religion and the sciences, his emphasis upon physical education, the inclusion of sports, games, hikes and travels within the curriculum, and the use of practical work and labor for pedagogical ends. They mention Lietz's demand for a close, trusting and comradely relationship between teacher and pupil, and the creation of an atmosphere of love and freedom within the school. This view of Lietz as a progressive educator, a leader of the German wing of an

international New School movement, was current during the years prior to the rise of National Socialism, and has the advantage of viewing Lietz's work without the distorting lens of later events.

Fritz Karsen, in his Versuchsschulen der Gegenwart, also places Lietz among the progressive, experimental educators, but calls attention to certain reactionary, patriarchal tendencies present in his work, as well.⁶ He emphasizes Lietz's refusal to adopt coeducation and more democratic administrative procedures within his schools, and concludes:

Und so ist dieses Persönlichkeitsideal, dem die Heime dienen, letzten Endes eher rückwärts als vorwärts gewandt. Patriarchalisch lebt nicht die neue Gesellschaft, patriarchalisch mit eingesetzten Führern nicht die neue Jugend. Autonomie wollen beide.⁷

Karsen views Lietz as an intuitive "man of action" who developed his schools and educational principles on the basis of his own experience rather than upon an idea. His schools, therefore, were subjective creations lacking in objectivity or universality, and were incapable of outliving the direct influence of their founder.⁸

Karsen's view betrays the influence of Gustav Wyneken, one of Lietz's earliest and best-known co-workers. Wyneken began working at Ilsenburg in 1901 before becoming a teacher at Haubinda in 1903. In 1906 he broke with Lietz, and with three other seceding teachers from Haubinda and many pupils, founded the Freischulgemeinde Wickersdorf. Wyneken wrote a superb essay on his memories of Lietz, in 1940.⁹ In it, he portrays Lietz as a man of action, a Führernatur, a farmer, whose schools were operated in an enlightened, though patriarchal, manner. He considers Lietz to have been a progressive educator whose basic conservatism prevented him from carrying his initial school reforms to their logical conclusion: youth culture,

coeducation, and a democratic school organization. Like Karsen, Wyneken criticizes Lietz's work for being an expression of his own powerful, unique personality, and not the realization of an idea. His conclusion is interesting:

Für einen grossen Pädagogen halte ich ihn nicht, denn er hatte keine schöpferischen Ideen, und nicht einmal einen grossen Erzieher, dazu war seine Natur zu eng und zu arm. Es fehlte ihm durchaus, was man mit einem trivialen Wort "Begabung" nennt und was, wenn man das Wort in einem höheren Sinn versteht, eben die Erwählung ausmacht: das Charisma. Er war kein schaffender Meister, sondern bestenfalls ein Werkzeug in der Hand des Geistes. Er war ein Mann der Tat, freilich einer Tat, deren Tragweite er weder übersah noch beherrschte. Er gehörte nicht selbst zu den erlauchten Geistern der Deutschen Nation, aber seine Tat ist aus der Geschichte der deutschen Erziehung nicht wegzudenken. Er war ein Bahnbrecher, ein Pionier einer neuen Erziehung und eines neuen Jugendlebens. Er hat sich nicht mit den Fragen des geistigen Lebens der Nation, mit Religion, Weltanschauung, Kunst, Dichtung und nicht einmal mit ihren politischen, wirtschaftlichen, sozialen gründlich auseinandergesetzt. Sein Feind aber war der Feind aller wahren Kultur: die Bürgerlichkeit, das Spiessertum, die leere Konvenienz. Von dieser die Erziehung und die Jugend durch das überzeugende Vorbild seines Landerziehungsheimes kraftvoll und siegreich befreit zu haben, das ist sein grosses Verdienst.¹⁰

Alfred Andreesen, a colleague of Lietz's from 1910 to 1919, and the director of the schools from 1919 to 1943, viewed Lietz as a great progressive educator and a prophet of the new (i.e. National Socialist) Germany. In his biography of Lietz, Andreesen places him among the world's great educators:¹¹

Unter den deutschen Erziehern wird Lietz einmal zu den grössten gezählt werden; von keinem sind stärkere Wirkungen ausgegangen.... Er ist ein Wegbereiter und Prophet des neuen Deutschland; die sittlichen und geistigen Kräfte, die von ihm ausstrahlen, werden das Wesen der Deutschen im neuen Reich bestimmen.¹²

Andreesen makes Lietz into a "volkish" hero, a prophet of Germany's rebirth under National Socialism, a man who was "ahead of his time," only coming into his own after 1933. He mentions Lietz's "volkish" nationalism and anti-semitism, his advocacy of a German Christianity, his Führernatur, and his struggle against the moral corruption and

decadence of the modern industrial cities, as aspects of Lietz's life and work which distinguish him as a Vorkämpfer of Nazism.

Was Hitler in raschen Schlägen auf politischem Gebiet erreichte, das hat Lietz - noch umgeben von einer morsch gewordenen, dekadenten Grossstadtkultur - schon um 1900 auf pädagogischem Wege angestrebt, die Zeichen der Zeit erkennend und die Katastrophe vorausschauend, deren Ausbruch er gerade noch erlebte.¹³

This general view of Lietz as having been a "volkish" educator and a "forerunner" of Nazism, was largely adopted by George Mosse in his The Crisis of German Ideology.¹⁴ He depicts Lietz as having been an idealist who sought the regeneration of the nation on a "volkish" base; as being immersed in the "Germanic ideology"; as having a romantic attachment to rural life, the soil, to Heimat and Volk; as advocating a "Germanic Christianity"; as a chauvinist; as desiring a paternalistic, hierarchical organization of society; as an anti-semitic; and as an example of the "conservative revolutionary". Lietz is portrayed as the most important educator within the "volkish" movement, responsible for the transmission of the "Germanic ideology" to several generations of German youth.¹⁵

An East German post-war scholar, Herbert Bauer, in an excellent, if somewhat biased, work, Zur Theorie und Praxis der ersten deutschen Landerziehungsheime, analyzes the person and work of Lietz from a Marxist viewpoint.¹⁶ It is hardly an exaggeration to say that he views Lietz as having been a lackey of the bourgeois-Junker class. He admits that Lietz was in many respects an inspired, progressive educator, but believes that the main thrust of his educational work was aimed at the reform, and therefore preservation, of bourgeois society. Lietz's idealism, like that of Eucken, Rein and Lagarde, was an ideological prop

for his justification of bourgeois class domination of society. Bauer is particularly interested in "unmasking" Lietz's socialist convictions and showing them to be concealing a deeper paternalistic, Gutsherr mentality not unlike that of the Junkers east of the Elbe. Therefore, Lietz was not truly progressive. He merely sought the reform, the patching-up, of a basically corrupt and unjust social system in order to insure its continued existence. His aim was to educate an elite to act as leaders of this reformed society. True socialism was actually repugnant to Lietz, Bauer claims. He had far more in common with the National Socialists and would probably have sympathized with their intentions. Lietz was, therefore, a reactionary in progressive's clothing.

Joachim Knoll, in his Pädagogische Elitebildung,¹⁷ agrees with most of what Bauer maintains, but casts these same facts in a positive light. He does not consider Lietz's social interests to have been insincere, however, nor does he dismiss his idealism as a "prop" for bourgeois class domination. Rather, Lietz is seen as a progressive educator in the tradition of Pestalozzi and Froebel. Lietz's accomplishment was to have united this German educational tradition with that of the English Public School, producing a superior and successful synthesis of Elitebildung and Gemeinschaftserziehung. The elite produced in these schools were to administer a reformed state and bring about a rejuvenation of the nation.

Erich Meissner's study of Lietz, Asketische Erziehung,¹⁸ develops a refreshingly original view of the Landerziehungsheime. He considers Andreesen's picture of Lietz to be of little value, giving "sogar vielfach ein falsches Bild des Mannes."¹⁹ He suspects that Andreesen created

this distorted view of Lietz in order to save the Landerziehungsheime from Gleichschaltung with the Nazi school system.¹⁹ Meissner rejects Mosse's "Volkish" thesis, denying that neo-romantic idealization of the soil played any part in Lietz's decision to place his schools in the countryside. He traces Lietz's inspiration back, instead, to the Enlightenment and German classicism. Meissner considers Lietz to have been out of place in Wilhelmian Germany, with its race for Weltmacht and riches. On the contrary, he wanted to educate Germany's youth to simplicity, idealism, purity, courage and truthfulness. Meissner considers Lietz to have been "einer der nachdenklichsten Erzieher neuerer Zeit."²⁰ He complains that "Ein falsches Bild von Lietz ist bereits zum Klischee geworden."²¹ This false picture is that of a "volkish" Lietz: neo-romantic, anti-semitic, elitist and "proto-Nazi." Instead, he believes Lietz to have aimed at "die asketische Reduktion der Erfahrungsinhalte," as an "Anleitung zur Vertiefung."²²

Er hielt es für nötig, das Leben der Jugend radikal zu vereinfachen. Asketisch einfach sollte das Leben sein, ohne Luxus, ohne Zerstreuung, den bleibenden Gegebenheiten zugewandt, deren tieferer Gehalt ihm persönlich, wie schon angedeutet, so vertraut war. Das schien ihm die beste Bedingung zu sein, um wirklich wertvolle Tätigkeit zu ermöglichen.²³

Those who consider Lietz's work to have been a Romantic flight from the realities of modern life into nature and the Volk, have not yet discovered "dass sie den Gründer der Heime eben einfach nicht verstanden hatten."²⁴

III. PURPOSE OF THESIS

The Landerziehungsheime have been studied from a variety of perspectives. Bauer, for example, has taken a Marxist approach and sees the schools as a response to the endangered supremacy of the bourgeoisie. Joachim Knoll treats the Heime as examples of Elitebildung, while George Mosse emphasizes the "volkish" aspects of the Landerziehungsheime. Meissner, on the other hand, considers Lietz's work in light of German classicism and the idea of an "ascetic education." William Brickman, in an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, has studied Lietz in the tradition of European educational thought and practice.

Regardless of their specific focus, each of these scholars has emphasized the importance of Lietz's own life experience in determining the nature and purpose of the Landerziehungsheime, particularly his childhood on Rügen and the gymnasial years at Greifswald and Stralsund. This conclusion is unavoidable as Lietz, himself, had written that "der Wunsch, als Erzieher der Jugend Helfer zu werden, entstand bei mir... aus Nöten und Erfahrungen der eigenen Jugend."²⁵ He wanted particularly to be "ein Helfer besonders derer, die der Hilfe am meisten bedurften, die Vater oder Mutter oder beide während der Schulzeit entbehren mussten, wie's mir als Jungen ergangen war."²⁶ It was during these early years that the basis for Lietz's later rejection of urban, industrial civilization was formed:

Am eigenen Liebe hatte ich als Schüler erfahren, dass das übliche Leben und Arbeiten in der Stadt Gesundheit und Willenskraft der vom Elternhause fernen Kinder schwäche und gefährde; dass dagegen Aufenthalt und Arbeit auf dem Lande in den Ferien Körper und Geist gesund und Leistungsfähig erhalte und reinere Freude schaffe. Diese Kindheitserfahrungen wurden und bleiben für mich ausschlag-

gebend. In den ersten Jahren meiner Arbeit als Erzieher
Bestätigten sie sich mir.²⁷

It is an assumption of this thesis that these early years of Lietz's life were as important for the development of the Landerziehungsheime as was the theoretical and practical educational tradition within which Lietz worked--that of Francke, Hecker, Basedow, Salzmann, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart, Stoy and Rein. Although this tradition is certainly important to an understanding of Lietz's work, and can damage a work which has not considered it (Mosse's, for example), this thesis will deal with it only in the person of Wilhelm Rein and Herbartianism. The reader who is interested in a deeper understanding of how Lietz worked within, for instance the Pestalozzian tradition, is referred to William Brickman's scholarly "The Contribution of Hermann Lietz to Education."²⁸

Not nearly as much attention has been paid to Lietz's idealism, particularly to the influence of Fichte, Lagarde and Eucken upon the formation of his Weltanschauung. Most scholars have mentioned Lietz's idealism and his interest in Fichte's Erziehungsstaat, in Lagarde's theology and Zeitkritik, and Eucken's Lebensphilosophie, yet remain vague as to the effects of these men on Lietz's intellectual development. It is the contention of this thesis that the "prophetic" form of idealism represented by these thinkers was the major intellectual ingredient of Lietz's university years, providing him with a philosophical and religious rationalization for his rejection of modern German society as decadent, as well as the conceptual framework which he used to measure the significance of his own efforts to bring about a spiritual rebirth of the German nation. If Lietz's childhood experiences provided the concrete

elements for the Landerziehungsheime, it was German idealism, as found in Fichte, Lagarde and Eucken, which gave these experiences a religious, even world-historical significance, and provided Hermann Lietz with his "mission" of working for the creation of a "new man" and a new nation.

The purpose of this thesis will be to investigate these two primary pivots of Lietz and the Landerziehungsheime: his own personal life experiences and this "prophetic" wing of German idealism, demonstrating how they joined in a harmonious synthesis of the ideal and the real, of religion and life--the Landerziehungsheime.

CHAPTER II

LIETZ'S LIFE: THE MAKING OF AN EDUCATOR

I. RÜGEN

Rügen's is a harsh and monotonous, glaciated landscape, generally flat with rolling drumlins rising to the North and eastward to heights of three and four hundred feet, then breaking way sharply into chalk cliffs which plunge steeply to the sea. The soil is a "Geestboden", sandy, fertile in the low-lying areas and excellent for the cultivation of grains. The hillocks are mostly forested with pine and fir stands.¹

Lietz was a child of this landscape, a farmer's son. In later years his childhood on Rügen seemed to him like a time in Paradise, and the farming life an ideal one.

Auch als wir viele herrliche Gegenden gesehen hatten, erschien uns allen doch das kleine heimatliche Landgut mit seinen Mooren, Teichen, Fichtewäldern, Gärten und Ställen als schönster and liebster Platz der Erde.²

He returned often to this island farm, battered and discouraged from his struggles with men and society, to be healed and comforted by nature, solitude, and work on the land. For Lietz, this country life--patriarchal, traditional, nature-bound--remained his ideal, to which he contrasted the materialistic, fragmented, rootless, corrupt and sterile life in the great cities.

The men of Friesland are Frennsen's and Storm's people. For centuries they have been farmers, merchants or fishermen: strong-handed, leather-faced, and taciturn. Through their almost grim sense of realism

often run strains of a sombre pietism or mysticism. One misses here the wit and prankishness, the light sensuality and easy sociability of the South. In this severe landscape the voluble "literary man" is often distrusted, the lyrical dreaminess of a Rilke or Hesse quite out of place. The sleek, slim-waisted dandy of the city with his wispy arms and soft hands, his emotionality and femininity, is here despised rather than lionized. By contrast, the men of Friesland tend to be thick-skulled and heavy-footed. Solidity, trustworthiness, toughness, courage, endurance, practical skill, realism and piety: these are the admired and ruling virtues. If the southern German is imaginative and graceful, this northerner is willful and stolid. His characteristics have their origin in the landscape and climate of the North, in the constant struggle to survive in an inhospitable land. Here, the weak, the untrained and the lazy go hungry and ill-clothed, or perish. The real "education" in such a country concerns the wresting of food from the soil and the sea, and the learning of the proper relationship of man to the world and to God.

Lietz the man--broad-shouldered, heavily muscled, energetic, courageous, nature-bound, with a strain of almost mystical idealism, or tenderness; his impatience with one-sided intellectualism, with rationalism and materialism; his concern with the practical as well as the ideal--was a fairly true reflection of this northern environment. His love of the full man, of the strenuous life, and his contempt for the unbalanced, one-sided life of the modern, urban man; his demand that knowledge be useful, and his hatred for learning for the sake of exams and schoolrooms: these values were rooted firmly in Lietz's childhood experience and were discernible in all that he undertook.

Lietz's father typified many of these qualities of the Friesländer. Educated in the Gymnasium, he had bought his farm at Dungenwitz at the inflated prices of the early 1860's and spent the rest of his life in a desperate struggle to save it and provide for his large family. Willful, strong of body, hard-working, toughened to heat and cold, he also read Schiller, Arndt and Uhland, and was a Freemason.³ His son mentions with pride, in his autobiography, how his father, even as an old man, would work out-of-doors in the coldest weather without hat, coat or gloves.⁴ He was later to admire Rudolf Eucken for this same toughness. He was also a man whose judgement was well respected in the neighborhood, for at election times men from the near-by villages would come to him for advice.⁵ Lietz's mother, on the other hand, was not well-educated. Towards the end of her long life she had all but lost the ability to read and write. Yet, he considered her to be one of the most intelligent people he had ever known. Her's was a natural intelligence, possessed of an excellent memory, sound judgement, and a firm will. She was also a loving, devoted mother. If from his father he gained a respect for learning, from his mother he learned to distinguish between knowledge and intelligence, and how one could possess one without the other--something often forgotten in the Germany of Bildung and Kultur.

This island world into which Lietz was born was still, in the 1860's, a patriarchal and traditional one. The great forces of the modern world had not yet gained entry, nor would they for another generation. Revolutionary socialism with its abolition of property and "dictatorship of the proletariat", materialistic philosophy with its atheism, science and technology, even railways, were still foreign to the land and its people. In

contrast to the turmoil and vice of the big cities, Rügen was socially peaceful, stable in its economic backwardness, and virtuous in its undogmatic pietism.

Noch lebte man hier in patriarchalischen Verhältnissen. Eisenbahn, "Sachsengänger," Zuckerrübenbau, Dampfdreschmaschine, Dampfpflug, künstlicher Dünger, was alles zusammen eine völlige Umgestaltung der ländlichen Verhältnisse bewirkt hat, waren noch nicht in diese abgelegne Gegend vorgedrungen. Nach altern, einfachern System wurde gewirtschaftet.⁶

Herbert Bauer, in his excellent, though somewhat slanted, study of Lietz and his schools also focuses on Rügen's social and economic backwardness in the time of Lietz's childhood, and the importance of this fact for his development.

Weitab von den grossen Industriestädten und dem revolutionären Proletariat konnte das Junkertum auf seinen Gütern noch stark ausgeprägte feudale Verhältnisse aufrechterhalten und die Landarbeiter auf das schamloseste ausbeuten. Mit allen Mitteln wurde das Eindringen sozialistischer Ideen und das Entstehen einer organisierten Arbeiterbewegung zu hindern gesucht....Infolge der fast unumschränkten Herrschaft der Grosgrundbesitzer blieben diese Teile Deutschlands in ihrer ökonomischen, politischen und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung weit hinter anderen, vor allem den Industrie Gebieten zurück.⁷

Bauer sees in this early exposure to a patriarchal, socially and economically conservative society, with its exploiting Junkers and servile, degraded peasantry, the key to understanding Lietz's later "sham" (that is, patriarchal) socialism, which he considers to have been, at basis, reactionary, monarchist and anti-proletarian.⁸

Rügen's remoteness from the great urban centers and the industrializing regions of Silesia, Berlin and the Rhineland, resulted not only in the continued dominance of traditional, patriarchal social and economic forms, but also caused the mentality of the people to be somewhat anach-

ronistic, when the consciousness of the intelligent urban dweller is used as the norm. This was not only true with Rügen, but with most of peasant or rural Germany at mid-century. Although Lietz was born into the Germany of 1868, his world of Rügen was closer to the Germany of Goethe, Fichte and Arndt than that of Wilhelm II and Krupp. It is questionable whether Lietz ever truly adjusted to the "modern" world with its urban masses, giant industries, materialism, machine technology, and open class conflicts. A former pupil of Lietz drew attention to the fact that although Lietz's educational proposals were revolutionary and eminently "modern", spiritually, he was something of an anachronism:

Ist es denn nicht beobachtet worden, was doch überraschend ist an einem Mann, der ein Werk auf die Beine stellte und in seiner Zeit erheblichen Staub aufzuwirbeln verstand: dass Lietz in seiner Zeit wie ein Überbleibsel etwa aus dem Jahre 1800 mit seiner ihm eigentümlichen Begriffswelt stand, dass er nichts weniger als modern war?⁹

Erich Meissner, a former pupil of Lietz's and a teacher in the Landerziehungsheime, concludes that although Lietz was influenced by many forces of his own time,

...(man) wird...aber doch letzten Endes zu der Einsicht geführt, dass Lietz kein gültiger Repräsentant des wilhelminischen Zeitalters gewesen ist, auch kein Wortführer der Opposition, die sich damals auf so vielen Gebieten rührte. Die Bildungseinflüsse, die am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts wirksam waren, besaßen für Lietz wenig Bedeutung.¹⁰

Meissner goes on to state that Lietz knew little of Schopenhauer or Nietzsche; had little in common with Freud and the new irrationalism; was not familiar with the literature of Dehmel, Hofmannsthal, George or Rilke; nor extensively acquainted with Marx, despite his "socialist" leanings. "In themselves," writes Meissner, "these gaps in Lietz's knowledge are relatively unimportant." However, "Sie beweisen nur, dass er

den entscheidenden geistigen Impuls nicht von dem Geistesleben der eigenen Zeit empfing. Sein geistiges Habitat war die Zeit der deutschen Klassik."¹¹

Bauer's claim that Lietz's socialism was a sham, masking a reactionary hostility to the urban proletariat's struggle to emancipate itself from the coils of bourgeois capitalism, has an element of truth. His sympathy for the plight of the workers was certainly sincere. However, his understanding of the problems of the urban, industrial worker was uncertain, at best, and led him to proposals that at times bordered on the bizarre. Bauer gives an example of the unreality of Lietz's picture of the "redeemed" worker, who appears more like a farmer living in the city than an industrial workman:

Wir finden uns versetzt in die Stube eines Arbeiters. In der Ecke ruhen Axt, Säge, Winkelmass und Hammer. Darüber hängt die Leier und das Schwert, das Seitengewehr aus der Dienstzeit. Dort sehen wir ein selbstgemaltes Bild. Hier ein selbstgeschnitztes Stück Möbel. Der Arbeiter tritt ein zu den Seinen. Er ist geschwärzt vom Rauch der Fabrik. Aber bald sitzt er unter ihnen sauber und weiss, mit der Violine in der Hand und erquickt seine bei der geistlosen, mechanischen Tagesarbeit ermudete, unbefriedigte Seele durch ihre sanften Klänge. Er legt das Instrument nieder und greift zu seinem Schiller oder Gerock, zu E. M. Arndt, Gustav Freytag, zu Scott oder Dickens....Da kommen auch bescheiden und stolz zugleich die Schwestern herzu. Die Wange der kleineren ist gebräunt, die der grösseren gerötet. Beide sind kräftig und gesund. Ihre tracht ist einfach, ähnlich der altgermanischer Jungfrauen. Sie haben sie selbst angefertigt. Hell und stolz strahlt das Auge der jungsten, da sie einen Korb der Mutter hinreicht. Was enthält er? Jene öffnet den Deckel. Sie findet Früchte und Gemuse. Es ist der erste Erfolg der jungsten, der kleinen Gärnerin....¹²

What might well have been a realizable ideal for the agricultural laborer, however, hardly came to grips with actual working and living conditions in the industrial cities of Westphalia or Berlin. That Lietz was wide of the mark was due more to his inexperience than his insincerity. Indeed, one of the strengths of Lietz's thought and work was its rootedness in

his own concrete experience. But it also placed rather strict limitations on its applicability to those areas of modern life with which he had little or no experience--such as industrial Germany.

II. E. M. ARNDT

When considering the influence of Rügen upon the development of Hermann Lietz, some mention must be made of the great poet and patriot E. M. Arndt. Arndt was a tradition on Rügen, its most famous son. Lietz's father, in his youth, had been friends with Justizrat Friedrich Ludwig von Muhlenfels, who, in turn, in his own youth had been a close friend of Arndt's. The patriot's works were favorite reading in the Lietz home, and Gottfried Lietz (Hermann's father) knew many of his poems by heart. There was thus a direct connection between these two great men of Rügen, writes Andreeson:

So verbindet (this chain from Arndt to von Muhlenfels to G. Lietz to Hermann Lietz) denn also eine eindeutige Kette den grossen, auf Rügen geborenen deutschen Patrioten Ernst Moritz Arndt mit seinem Landsmann Hermann Lietz, für den jener immer ein Vorbild und Beispiel blieb und dessen hochgespannte nationalpolitischen Ziele von jenem Manne der Freiheitskriege immer bedeutsam bestimmt wurden.¹³

Lietz and Arndt shared many common values, ideas and experiences. They were both born of farming families on Rügen and attended Stralsund Gymnasium and studied theology at Jena. Both turned away from careers in the Evangelical church because of the cold, pedantic dogmatism of its leadership. In time, both became ardent German and Prussian patriots. As Arndt opposed the rationalism of his day because it fragmented men and cut them off from their roots in the land and its traditions, so did Lietz oppose the materialism of his own time for similar reasons. Both

men envisioned the harmonious development of man, his mind, body, and soul, as the ideal and source of all human good. They considered the ideal individual life to be the combination of practical, physical work and intellectual study. They felt this ideal to be realized in the mentally developed peasant who would combine body with spirit, feeling and intellect. Each distrusted and disliked urban life, thinking that it produced weaklings and dilettantes, and believing that the complete man must be rooted in the land and its traditions. Both men were severe critics of their own age, yet also believed in the basic goodness of men and the future regeneration of the nation. Arndt, at one time, had hoped to establish a school for boys, along Fichtean lines, through which he could inculcate his ideals in Germany's youth prior to their corruption by society. Lietz actually accomplished this. What E. N. Anderson wrote of Arndt, could have been said equally of Lietz:

...cold rationalism failed to satisfy him. He loved a nature which lived and died rather than one which served as the subject of mathematics or physical science. He felt the push and tug of emotions, fighting his passions by solitary tramping and by swimming in bitter cold water. From his life on the farm he learned that the vagaries of climate and peculiarities of soil blocked the most carefully laid plans. Thus he was led to seek a more balanced instrument and guide than reason....Interest in history and folklore led Arndt into the most troublesome problem of his entire life, that of bringing together knowledge and actual existence, of relating contemplation and action....Arndt heard a call to unite heaven and earth, spirit, soul, and body, to bring the ideal and material together, to teach the wise and the good man the necessity of intimacy with the earth....He believed in the essential goodness of man and patterned his ideal after his own model, a peasant who had heightened and expanded his qualities by intellectual and social experience while preserving intimacy with the soil.¹⁴

Thus, both men saw the source of the evils of modern life to lie in man's separation from the soil, the resulting inharmonious separation of body and mind, and believing in man's potential goodness and harmony, saw in

the education of youth the means of regenerating individual and national life.

III. GYMNASIUM

At nine years of age, after a free and happy childhood on the farm, Lietz, along with a slightly older brother, was sent away to attend the Gymnasium at Greifswald. So began what Andreesen has called "...der trübste Abschnitt seines Lebens."¹⁵ Rudolf Lassahn summarizes the chapter "Auf deutschen Schulen" in Lietz's Lebenserinnerungen, as:

...eine Leidensgeschichte, eine einzige Anklage: Sinnloses Auswendiglernen, verständnislose Lehrer, Paukbetrieb, interesselose Schüler, die nur das "Einjährige" anstreben, Zensuren und Versetzungen, die mehr vom Zufall und der Willkür als von wirklicher Leistung bestimmt sind, das Verlassensein und Ausgesetztsein der Schüler, die vom Lande kamen, in den Pensionen der Stadt, alkoholische Exzesse, Verirrungen...¹⁶

His years at Greifswald and Stralsund were to make Lietz a life-long enemy of a system which left many boys damaged for the rest of their lives:

Aber für jeden war und ist dies, dein System, durchaus nicht empfehlenswert. Ganz arge Lücken und Wunden lies es bei vielen zurück, die nie ganz ausgefüllt werden können, nie wieder vernarben.¹⁷

Bauer is undoubtedly correct in seeing these troubled years as the source for most of Lietz's later criticism of the Prussian school system, and as decisive for the shaping of his Landerziehungsheime.¹⁸ Lietz, himself, has written that "...der Wunsch, als Erzieher der Jugend Helfer zu werden, entstand bei mir...aus Nöten und Erfahrungen der eigenen Jugend."¹⁹

Having grown up an integral part of a large and closely-knit country family, Lietz was ill-prepared for the move to the city and the

discipline and confinements of the Gymnasium. He knew no Latin, spoke only the Rügen dialect, read badly, and could barely write. His slow speech and awkward manner brought upon him the ridicule and mockery of his fellow pupils and an isolation which lasted, to a degree, until the end of his Gymnasium years: "...mein schroffes, von der Regel abweichendes Verhalten verschaffte mir...manchen Gegner und manche Schwierigkeit."²⁰

Andreesen believed that Lietz never truly adjusted to life in the city, separated from family and nature.²¹ In Lietz's own mind, the evils of the city were inextricably connected with those of the Gymnasium. In a metropolis like Hamburg, one found prostitution, criminality, alcoholism, atheism, cynicism, lustfulness, the shallowest materialism, ruthless exploitation, and contempt for tradition, ideals and mankind. Even one day in such an environment and the teaching of months is endangered:

Die Zögling geht eine Stunde lang - vielleicht abends - durch einige Strassen, er liest aufmerksam eine Zeitung von Anfang bis zu Ende durch, er hört einem Gespräch eine halbe Stunde zu: und er meint jetzt seien ihm tausendmal jene "Lehren" widerlegt. Er besitzt noch nicht die Charakterstärke, diesen tausendfachen Eindrücken zu widerstehen. Es dauert nicht lange, so ist er selbst in die Tiefe hineingefallen, an deren Rande er - ohne Schwindelfrei zu sein - beständig wandelte.²²

Lietz came to believe that almost all the tendencies of modern culture militated against the proper education of youth. In the country one could at least grow up strong and free, into a complete, harmonious individual. Lucky were those children who were never forced to leave the purity and unity of life in nature, to descend into the filth and divisions of the modern, industrial city:

...man wird erschuttert die Jugend glücklich preisen, die aus ihren Waldern, Feldern, Dorfern niemals zu dieser Art moderner "Bildungs-", "Unterhaltungs-", "Vernugungsstätten" gelangt; man wird die Jugend, die nun leider einmal in Bannkreis dieser Mauer geboren ist und wohnt, zurufen: Hinaus aus dieser Pestluft, diesem Hollenpfuhl.²³

Modern, industrial society had disrupted the social and spiritual harmony inherited from the Middle Ages. It had turned man against man, and divided men within themselves. The modern city was characterized by greedy individualism, class antagonisms, and the crassest materialism. Lost was the ideal of social harmony, of concern for one's fellow man, of respect for the community. An arrogant class of "head-workers" and wealthy businessmen had risen to power and become contemptuous of labor, of the rights and persons of the "hand-workers". Modern man was a reflection of this society: weak-bodied, abstracted, impractical intellectuals, on the one hand, and ignorant, short-sighted workers on the other. Only rarely did one find full, harmonious men, capable of the finest thought as well as the roughest labor. The Gymnasium, itself, perpetuated this unhealthy division in the individual and the nation. The typical result of the Prussian secondary school system was a weak-eyed, hollow-chested youth fit only for the classroom or the bureaucrat's office:

Nach dem alten System der Gymnasium und Universitäten erzogene Knaben haben in so gut wie allen Fällen nur die Fähigkeit, in einer Schulstube, auf einer Kanzel usw. zu amtieren. Und wenn sie zu diesen nicht gelangen können wegen Überfüllung, dann kommen die vielfach auf der Strasse zu liegen und bilden ein "Gelehrtenproletariat" oder nahmen sich das Leben.²⁴

Furthermore, the Gymnasium actively inculcated in the youth a disdain for physical work and for those who labored with their hands:

Man hat ihnen womöglich noch gesagt: "Das schickt sich nicht für Euch! Dazu sind andere Leute da!" Sie the gymnasialist müssen auch noch befürchten, ausgelacht, verspottet zu werden, weil sie "gemeines", "schmutziges" Werk thun. Soweit sind wir in der Unnatur der Überkultur schon gekommen.²⁵

Such a separation of body and intellect, supported by the gymnasial curriculum and German society, rested upon a misunderstanding of man's nature:

Die Art und Weise, wie man bisher die "Arbeitsteilung" in körperliche und geistige Arbeit zumeist durchgeführt hat, ist grundfalsch, weil wir eben nicht zwei Arten von Lebewesen haben: Körper ohne Gehirn und Gehirn ohne Körper, sondern weil jeder Mensch Körper und Geist zugleich, beides in engster Verbindung, in beständiger Abhängigkeit von einander hat.²⁶

In addition to its one-sided emphasis upon the intellect at the expense of the body, emotions and the will, the gymnasial curriculum was also antiquated and ill-fitted to the requirements of the modern world. Boys were taught Latin, Greek and catechism when they should have been learning French, English, physics and chemistry or political science. Lietz also believed, along with Wilhelm II, that the plan of studies should be tailored to the needs of the German nation. Its goal should be the education of young Germans, not Greeks and Romans.²⁷

It was into one of these "Unterrichtsschulen", "Pressen", or "Lernkasernen", that Lietz was sent at nine. Ideally, the guidance, love and example of the father would have been replaced by that of the Gymnasium professor's. It did not happen. Instead, Lietz found the same sort of teacher at Griefswald and Stralsund as Stefan Zweig did in Vienna:

Sie waren weder gut noch böse, keine Tyrannen und andererseits keine hilfreichen Kameraden, sondern arme Teufel, die sklavisch an das Schema, an den behördlich vorgeschriebenen Lehrplan gebunden, ihr "Pensum" zu erledigen hatten wie wir das unsere und - das fühlten wir deutlich - ebenso glücklich waren wie wir selbst, wenn mittags die Schulglocke scholl, die ihnen und uns die Freiheit gab.²⁸

Often the teacher was made into an unapproachable idol which made any real contact with him - and thus any true education - impossible. The professor's duties were confined to instruction alone. Attempts on the

part of the pupil to form more personal relationships with the teacher were met, generally, with a cold, disapproving reserve.

The relations between teacher and pupil were further hampered by the liberal use, in some schools, of physical punishments to insure obedience and "respect":

Hauptsächlich prügelten die Elementarlehrer. Wer z.B. gewisse Aufgaben nicht lösen konnte oder Anlass zum Tadel gegeben hatte, musste den Rumpf beugen und sich mit dem elastischen, kurzen Rohrstock zuchtigen lassen. Wer beim Turnen nicht schnell aus Ende der Stange hinaufklettern konnte, wurde so lange mit einem langen Rohrstock geprügelt, bis er oben ankam. Wer seine Linien nicht gerade oder seine Kreise nicht rund ziehen konnte...bekam so lange Prügel, bis es gelang.²⁹

Where Hermann needed to find an ideal model of manhood and a helper, he found, instead, one-sided, pedantic, sometimes brutal men who evidenced little love of youth or professional skill:

Sicherlich erfüllten jene Männer ihre Pflicht, so wie diese verstanden, und so gut, wie sie's konnten....Aber von einer Kunst der Erziehung, von Liebe zur Jugend und Sorgsamkeit für sie war kein Hauch zu verspüren...Wie konnte Liebe zu solchen Lehrern, echten Stolz und Selbstachtung entstehen wenn die Achtung und Liebe dem Kinde nie entgegengebracht wurden?³⁰

That he managed to survive these gymnasial years in the city unbroken and uncorrupted, Lietz attributed to the summers spent back on the farm at Dungenewitz. These periods were like islands of refuge for the harrassed and often discouraged youth; times in which the spiritual wounds could heal through contact with nature; and the divisions between mind and body, "head-work" and "hand work", bourgeoisie and proletariat, knowledge and life, could be bridged anew.

In den Ferien kamen wir Kinder ja fortwährend auf dem Landgut in Beziehungen zu Arbeitern und Handwerkern. Im Garten und auf dem Felde arbeiteten wir überall mit und erledigten Besorgungen und Bestellungen....Das alles ist uns fürs ganze Leben von grossem Wert gewesen, machte uns praktisch, entwickelte unser soziales Empfinden und Denken, erhielt uns gesund und einfach, verschaffte uns Kenntniss und Erfahrung von den Tatsachen des täglichen Lebens.³¹

IV. UNIVERSITY

The years spent in the Gymnasium had left Lietz with a sour, embittered view of academia and its pedantic representatives on the secondary level. Could he have had his own way, he would have left the Gymnasium after the Untersekunda to become a student of horticulture in Potsdam. His father, however, insisted on his finishing, in hopes that Hermann would go on to study theology at the university and enter the Evangelical ministry. Even this course was almost closed to him when his mathematics teacher tried to fail him during the oral part of the Reifeprüfung, not, according to Lietz, because of his lack of proficiency, but rather the teacher's personal dislike of him.³² The unreasonable behavior of the mathematics professor became so obvious to the other examiners, however, that they ended the questioning and passed him over the protests of the mathematician.³³

At Halle, which he had chosen because of its "scientific" approach to theology, Lietz was to discover a new world:

Voller Erwartung kam ich nach Halle. Bald ward ich dessen inne, das ich in eine neue Welt gekommen sei. Die Zeit des Zwanges, der Mittelmässigkeit, der Pedanterie, Paukerei und Qual war zu Ende! Freie Bahn dehnte sich vor mir aus. Feurige Redner in Silberhaaren, ausserordentlich anziehende Persönlichkeiten, Männer deren geistige Bedeutung und Kraft man sofort verspürte, sprachen vom Katheder herab. Ungemein fesselten sie mich vom ersten Tage an. Der Unterschied gegen die Schule war zu gross. So stürzte ich mich denn fast übereifrig auf die Arbeit.³⁴

After five semesters at Halle, Lietz transferred to Jena in order to study under the liberal theologian R. A. Lipsius, and the philosopher Rudolf Eucken. In Eucken Lietz was to encounter a living embodiment of his own

developing ideals--a "full man" whose life and thought, body and mind were bound together and harmonized. Like Lietz, Eucken was a Friesländer, who shared his belief in the strenuous life, in toughening, in Selbstüberwindung. Lietz noted with pride that on the coldest days only he and Eucken were to be seen on the streets of Jena without hat, overcoat or gloves.³⁵ There was nothing of the "ivory tower" philosopher or pedant in Eucken:

Unter allen meinen bisherigen Lehrern zog mich vor allem R. Eucken an. Nichts von trockener pedantischer Stubengelehrsamkeit war an ihm. Begeisterungsfähigkeit, Schwung, echtes Pathos zeichneten ihn aus. Die idealistische Richtung seiner Philosophie, der Versuch, von einer tieferen Erfassung des Gesamtgeisteslebens aus zum Aufbau einer Selbständigen Weltanschauung und zur Überwindung des Materialismus zu gelangen, sein geschichtliches Verstandnis, die Persönlichkeit des Ostfriesen, seine Schlichtheit, seine Lebenshaltung, alles sagte mir zu.³⁶

Rudolf Eucken, who was to receive the Nobel Prize for literature in 1908, remained one of the major influences upon Lietz's intellectual development. One must agree with Bauer, that:

Der Einfluss der Philosophie Euckens, seine Lebens- und Kulturideale sind wohl die am Stärksten wirkenden Elemente aus jenen Studienjahren geblieben, die man in der späteren Arbeit von Lietz ständig in Rechnung stellen muss.³⁷

It was partly through Eucken's teaching that Lietz was affirmed in his opposition to the materialism and immorality of modern industrial society. Like Eucken, Lietz believed that although Germany was on the point of attaining world power, she also stood in danger of losing her spiritual basis.³⁸ Both men rejected the spiritual and social divisions inherent in modern thought and life, and perceived the task of the future to lie in the bridging of the gulf that separated the real world and ideal principles, daily life and religion, and the individual and the nation. Like Eucken, Lietz came to believe that it was in ethics, in the ethical

life, that these antinomies would be resolved and a new, harmonious man created, who would, in turn, become the basis of a re-spiritualized Germany. It was in the existence of the free will, by means of which man could oppose his lower nature and rise to an authentic spiritual life, that Lietz and Eucken saw the key to this spiritual rebirth.³⁹ It was Eucken's demand that man oppose his lower nature so as to develop his spirit and his individuality, that was to supply the basis for Lietz's "ascetic education." (For a more complete development of Eucken's thought, see below, Chapter III, Section III, "Rudolf Eucken".)

Wilhelm Rein and Herbartianism

The man at Jena who had the greatest influence upon Lietz's professional development was Wilhelm Rein, "the last of the great Herbartians."⁴⁰ Lietz, himself, has written that "Für die Wahl meines Lebensberufs ist...kaum einer so bedeutsam geworden als...Wilhelm Rein."⁴¹ Lietz was a student in Rein's Pädagogisches Universitäts-Seminar and Übungsschule from October 1892 until September 1893. After his Probejahr at Putbus, he returned to Jena to work as an Oberlehrer in the Übungsschule from October 1894 to Easter, 1895. Andreesen considered this period as Oberlehrer to have been one of the most formative for Lietz's development as an educator:

...das kurze halbe Jahr dieser Tätigkeit ist für ihn pädagogisch die anregendste Zeit, ja, vielleicht diejenige, in der er schon die Grundlinien seiner späteren Erzieher Tätigkeit gewinnt.⁴²

It was Rein who recommended Lietz for his first teaching position, at Kötzschenbroda,⁴³ as well as for his second, at Abbotsholme.⁴⁴ While working at Kötzschenbroda, Lietz wrote several articles for Rein's Encyclopedia, and later, while at Abbotsholme, dedicated part of his

first book, Emlohstobba, to him.⁴⁵ Not only did Rein consider Lietz to have been his most important student,⁴⁶ but Lietz, himself, claimed that the greater part of his innovations in the Landerziehungsheime had had their origins in Rein's teaching:

Ich darf sagen, sehr vieles, fast alles Wichtige, was ich später in den Landerziehungsheimen durchzuführen versucht habe, das zu erproben boten mir schon vorher, sei es als Praktikanten, sei es später als Oberlehrer im Pädagogischen Universitäts-Seminar und Übungsschule Gelegenheit. Bedeutsames entsprach dabei den Wünschen, und Überzeugungen, die schon von eigenen Schülejahren her sich mir aufgedrängt hatten.⁴⁷

On his own part, Rein claimed to have played an active role in the development of Lietz's schools: "Die Neugründung hat Lietz nicht aus 'Geschäftigkeit' ins Leben gerufen, sondern aus Erwägungen, an den ich lebhaft Anteil genommen habe."⁴⁸ Rein also believed himself to be the source of the Dreiteilung of the schools.⁴⁹ Bauer sees in Rein's Übungsschule not just the model for the Landerziehungsheime, but also the source of Lietz's conception of the Erziehungsschule--as contrasted with the contemporary Gymnasium, which he called the Unterrichtsschule.⁵⁰ It was, therefore, not without some justification that Wilhelm Rein considered himself to be a sort of "grandparent" to the Landerziehungsheime.⁵¹

It was Rein who had introduced Lietz to Herbartian pedagogy. Both the Universitäts-Seminar and the Übungsschule, of which Rein had assumed leadership in 1885, had been founded in 1843 by Karl Volkmar Stoy, a former student of Herbart's at Königsberg. Together with the Übungsschule at Leipzig, which had been founded by another Herbartian, Tuiskon Ziller, Jena had become, by the 1880's, one of the centers of Herbartianism in Germany. Under Rein's leadership, Jena's teacher training program became

the finest of its kind in Germany, if not the world.⁵²

The Herbartian pedagogy which Rein taught at Jena defined the goal of education as the moral and ethical development of the child. Its ideal was a man of strong and serene character activated by a free and good will. The worth of a man was to be measured not by the wealth of his knowledge, but by the moral quality of his desires and actions.⁵³ In teaching, the emphasis was placed upon the selection and organization of information presented to the child, insisting that the creation of a free, ethical man be constantly held before the teacher as the end of knowledge. Since the Herbartians believed the mind to be identical with its contents and their organization, to "instruct" the mind was also to "construct" it. The nature of the mind's construction determined its feelings, desires, and will--its character. Instruction, for Rein, then, was not limited to the intellect, but affected the entire man, and became an "erziehenden Unterricht." If the teacher was to develop a strong, ethical character in his pupils, he had to present them with the widest possible selection of material--for the narrow mind was also the weak mind. Herbartianism was not advocating a narrow bookishness, nor implying that "education" should be limited to classroom instruction, with this term "education by instruction". Life, in the widest sense, was to be the stuff of education, not classrooms and teachers:

To desire to shut out experience and social life, in order to confine the child in a classroom, condemning him to find instruction from books alone, or from the dull lessons of a master, this is to affirm that one can do without the bright light of day and be satisfied with the feeble glimmer of a candle.⁵⁴

Like Herbart, Rein also advocated a practical, positive education, opposing the teaching of antique languages for the sake of memory "faculty"

and maxims and catechism for the moral "faculty". If morality and reason were not inherent in the content and organization of the material presented to the pupil, no amount of catechism and language drill could possibly create it. Since the proper aim of education was seen to be "right action", the child was best taught by means of "learning through doing" and experimentation. The serene and calm character was to be developed by "encouraging the natural gayety of the child, by seeking every opportunity of keeping it good-humored, by letting it live its child life, by excluding the wearisome and fruitless studies which hamper the free movement of his mind."⁵⁵ Finally, Herbartianism urged the teaching of hand-work to all children, as it was the use of the hands, along with language, which lifted man above the animals. In addition, physical work aided in diverting the child from those disturbing passions "which darken the mind at the period when a calm and quiet spirit, ready always to conceive clearly, is alone in a fit condition to form aesthetic judgements," which, according to Herbart, form the basis of all moral judgements.⁵⁶

There are traces of the Pestalozzi-Herbart-Ziller-Rein pedagogy throughout the thought and work of Lietz. In particular, Lietz embraced Rein's and Herbart's idea of the "erziehenden Unterricht", as Andreesen testifies:

Stärker (than Pestalozzi) wird er durch Rein und seine Übungsschule beeinflusst....Die Universitätsübungsschule war damals die klassische Schule der Herbart-Zillerschen Didaktik; und ohne zweifel hat Herbarts Lehre vom "erziehenden Unterricht" ihn aufs stärkste beeindruckt.⁵⁷

When discussing the nature of the Erziehungsschule in Emlohstobba, and its new method of instruction, the erziehenden Unterricht, Lietz

states that the method has already been worked out in detail by Pestalozzi and the Herbart-Ziller pedagogy, the methods of which were complementary.⁵⁸ In the work of these men, writes Lietz, the transition from Unterrichtsschule to Erziehungsschule had already been made, in theory if not in practice.⁵⁹ That Lietz put Herbartian pedagogy into practice in his schools is unquestioned by most.⁶⁰ In the first inspection of Ilsenburg by the Prussian school authorities in 1898, Lietz was described as a "fanatischer Anhänger der Herbartschen Pädagogik."⁶¹ In later reports, as well, he was considered to be a follower of Herbartian ideas.⁶² Bauer believes that it was Herbart's use of education for religious and moral development, and his emphasis upon a bourgeois-conservative character development as the most desirable, which most attracted Lietz to this pedagogy.⁶³

Lietz did not, however, hold as blindly to Herbart's theories as one might expect of a "fanatical adherent." Indeed, he saw his own task to be the expansion and application of Herbart's ideas, which he believed to have been too narrowly focused on instruction alone. "Unterricht kann und soll ein erziehender sein. Aber tausend andere Dinge kommen für die Erziehung noch dazu in Betracht, ausser dem Unterricht."⁶⁴ Lietz sought to control the entire environment of the child, to turn all experiences, the whole of each day, into an erziehenden Unterricht, as was done, for example, in the Stoy'sche Knaben-Erziehungsanstalt (Johann-Friedrich-Schule) at Jena. Bauer considers this Gymnasium, founded by K. V. Stoy in 1843, to have been an example, for Lietz, of how Herbartian pedagogy worked in practice.⁶⁵

Lietz was also attracted by the Herbartian emphasis upon the mind--upon man's apiritual and moral qualities--as being decisive in determining human worth. He agreed that men were not born moral but were made so through their education, their social experiences and their ideas. He accepted the Herbartian requirement that all knowledge taught be useful, while still affirming that the end of knowledge was, ultimately, ethical action rather than success (in the narrow sense). Like Herbart, Lietz despised the narrow Stubengelehrsamkeit of the typical Gymnasium professor, and wanted, instead, to provide his pupils with the broadest possible education for life in the real world.⁶⁶ Finally, Lietz wholeheartedly adopted the Herbartian's claim that a strong moral will required a vigorous and healthy body. Like them, he advocated the liberal use of sport and games, as well as physical labor and hand-work, in the school curriculum. These physical activities were designed, as well, to divert the child from the "darker" passions, especially pre-mature sexuality.

V. THREE SCHOOLS: PUTBUS, KÖTZSCHENBRODA, ABEOTSHOLME

Lietz returned to Rügen in the fall of 1893 to fulfill the obligatory Probejahr in the Königliches Pädagogium at Putbus, some seven kilometers from Dungenewitz. For the first time he was able to combine, after a fashion, his two most loved occupations: farming and teaching. Living at home, he would rise each morning at 5:00 A.M., apportion the day's work among the laborers, and be in the fields, himself, by 6:00 A.M. At 8:00 A.M. he was in the classroom in Putbus.

Although his life situation was in many respects ideal, even experiencing, occasionally, moments of ecstatic joyousness through his contacts with nature, his teaching situation was something less than perfect. His duties were to observe the experienced teachers and periodically teach classes, himself, in a similar manner. The director of the school, however, though Lietz a radical, and his fellow teachers tried to prevent him from attending their classes (fearing his critical ability, according to Lietz).⁶⁷ He was not allowed any contact with the boarding section of the school, which was kept separate from the instructional division.⁶⁸ For Lietz, it was primarily a negative educational experience, demonstrating how not to run an Alumnat. One of the more able teachers confided to him that "Alle Alumnote sind Bruststätten des Lasters."⁶⁹ Lietz believed that the reason for this was that the typical, traditional German boarding school, like the Pädagogium at Putbus, had neither playgrounds, workshops nor dedicated, trained Erziehers. There was too much of a distance between teacher and pupil, and, besides, none of the teachers were willing to do anything more than teach their assigned classes.

In his free time, in addition to continuing his study of Paul de Lagarde, Lietz undertook the first of his experiments in "social pedagogy", a line of activity he was to continue throughout his life.⁷⁰ Theodora von Wächter's social ministry among the workers in Berlin's northeast section inspired Lietz to make a similar effort with the agricultural laborers of Rügen. These rescue operations were not generally successful. The laborers, after a time, usually fell back into the coils of socialism and alcohol--mainly the latter.

Lietz relates an interesting episode from this missionary work, which reveals something of his social pedagogy and his character, in his autobiography. One day he brought to the farm a homeless, jobless Polish worker and his family. The man was given the job of feeding the livestock, the wife was to drive the milk to town. At first, all went well.

...besonders tüchtig erwies sich die Frau. Allmählich unterlag der Mann wieder seiner alten Trinkerleidenschaft. Brennspiritus trank er in Mengen. Dann machte er meist Lärm und schlug Frau, Kinder und Nachbarinnen. Häufig wurde ich, wenn es gar zu arg wurde, zu Hilfe gerufen. Eines Morgens war ich gerade von der Schule heimgekommen, da kamen die Kinder gelaufen. "Suckow will alles totschiagen." Da eilte ich dazu. Als der Pole meinen Worten nicht folgte, sondern auf mich losging, warf ich ihn zu Boden, setzte ihm die Knie auf die Brust und zwang ihn zur Ruhe, während er mir Hemd und Jacke zerriss. Als ich ihn ermüdet glaubte, liess ich ihn los. Jetzt packte er einen grossen Feldstein von dem nebenliegenden Haufen und stürzte mit ihm auf mich los. Kaltblütig blieb ich stehen, während die Frauen heulend davonliefen. Doch er wagte nicht, sofort zu schleudern, während ich ihn fest anschaute. So konnte ich ihn zum zweitenmal packen und gründlicher als zuvor entwandern. Schliesslich musste ich aber den 'Erziehungsversuch' bei diesem Manne als aussichtslos aufgeben.⁷¹

After six months as Oberlehrer in Jena University's Übungsschule, Rein recommended Lietz for a teaching position in the town of Kötzschenbroda, situated on the Elbe River some two and one-half hours from Dresden. The school was a privately-owned, coeducational Progymnasium (through Untertertia) with boarding facilities. Lietz was a teacher and titular director of the school from Easter, 1895, until the summer of 1896.⁷² He taught classes in German, Latin, religion and history. It was while at Kötzschenbroda that Lietz made his first extensive study of the chronicles and histories of the German middle ages. According to Andreesen,

Fortan sind diese Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte das Rückgrat seines Geschichtsunterrichtes, der unausschöpfliche Behälter, aus dem er seine Stoffe sich halt, seine Begeisterung nährt; er muss erkennen, wie unendlich viel wertvoller diese Werke für die sittliche und nationale Erziehung unseres Volkes sind als die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments.⁷³

It was during this year at Kötzschenbroda that Lietz began to develop his own pedagogical method. Among others, he developed the educational ideal of the teacher being the "fatherly friend" of his pupils, and the principle of "teaching by example," both of which were to help form the basis of the Lietzsche Erziehungskunst.⁷⁴ He devoted his entire life to the pupils. Each day brought new discoveries. Rarely had he gotten such pleasure from his work or put so much enthusiasm into it.⁷⁵

Die grösste Freude hatte ich auch hier am Zusammenleben, gemeinsamen Arbeiten, Wandern, Spielen, Schwimmen mit den Kindern, meinen jungen Kameraden und Freunden. Alles, was ich später an anderen Plätzen einrichtete und ausübte, versuchte ich auch hier schon durchzuführen. Mein ganzer Tag vom Morgen bis zum Abend war den Kindern gewidmet. Frühmorgens standen wir miteinander auf und liefen schnell zur Elbe zum Schwimmen. Dann nach dem Frühstück begann der Unterricht. Am Nachmittage gingen wir in den Wald, wo ich einen freien Platz zum Spielen gepachtet hatte, oder wir wanderten in die schöne Umgegend. Dann arbeiten wir zusammen in der Arbeitsstunde und nach dem Abendessen wurde noch gemeinsam geturnt. Im Winter wurde Kerbschnitzerei getrieben und dabei vorgelesen. Sonntags unternahmen wir weite Wanderungen und Ausflüge in die Wälder oder nach Meissen, Tharandt, Dresden, u.s.w.Selten habe ich soviel Freude an meiner Arbeit gehabt als damals, zumal sie für mich in all diesen Jahren Schritt für Schritt Entdeckungen bedeutete.⁷⁶

That Lietz was already experimenting with practices that were later to become an integral part of the educational doctrine of the Landerziehungsheimbewegung, is supported by Theodore Fritsch, who was a fellow teacher at the Alumnat.

Mit dem Eintritt des Herrn Dr. Lietz...zog ein frischer, fortschrittlicher Geist in die Anstalt ein, der besonders den

Internatschülern zu Gute kam....An den Tagen, an denen er Aufsicht hatte, betreute er sie vom frühen Morgen bis zum Schlafengehen. Er beschäftigte sie in die unterrichtsfreien Zeit mit Kerbschnitzarbeiten in Holz und Linoleum, wanderte mit ihnen, gin, schwimmen und Schlitschuhlaufen, arbeitete mit ihnen im Garten. Deshalb hingen die Schuler mit grosser Liebe und Verehrung an ihm....⁷⁷

The year spent in England at Abbotsholme, working with Cecil Reddie, was unquestionably one of the most important events in Lietz's life, and decisive for his development as an educator. Andreesen calls this year at Abbotsholme "der Wendepunkt in seinem Leben; es gibt ihm den entscheidenden Anstoss zu seiner eigenen Gründung."⁷⁸ In an article on Reddie in Leben und Arbeit, Andreesen states

...dass Lietz und sein Werk auf stärkste von Reddie beeinflusst waren, ja ohne ihn nicht denkbar sind. So ist Reddie der geistige Vater und Grossvater unserer Heime...⁷⁹

In his work Pädagogische Elitebildung, Joachim Knoll writes that Lietz's visit to Abbotsholme was "...entscheidend für das ganze erzieherische Wirkung."⁸⁰ Wilhelm Rein, who had visited Abbotsholme in the summer of 1896 and had recommended Lietz for the position there, also believed this experience to have been decisive for Lietz's own work:

Dort at Abbotsholme ist der Plan in ihm gereift auf deutschem Boden ein ähnliches Landerziehungsheim entstehen zu lassen, um meine pädagogische Pläne in die Wirklichkeit zu setzen.⁸¹

Lietz, for his part, never ceased to pay tribute to Reddie and his school for being the main inspiration behind his own decision to found a similar school in Germany. Reddie gave him courage "...in der Heimat die Arbeit der praktischen Schulform wieder aufzunehmen, für die ich in der neuen Schule ein so treffliche Beispiel kennen gelernt hatte."⁸² In his autobiography Lietz wrote that "Abbotsholme wurde mir ein wirksames Heilmittel gegen zuvor erlittene Schmerzen, ein starkes Antreib zum eigenen Schaffen."⁸³

Of course, Lietz's panegyrical *Enlohistobba*, dedicated, in part, to Reddie, was his most eloquent testimonial to Abbotsholme. The influence of Reddie might also be seen in the fact that Reddie and some Abbotsholme students visited Ilsenburg during the first summer after its foundation, and that the first Ilsenburger Schulreise took Lietz and his pupils to Abbotsholme in the summer of 1899.⁸⁴

Cecil Reddie was born in Fulham, near London, and was educated at Fettes School, and the universities of Edinburgh and Gottingen, where he studied chemistry. Upon his return from Gottingen in 1885, Reddie taught for two years at Fettes and one at Clifton College in Bristol. It was through his friendship with the poet and social reformer Edward Carpenter, that he received the inspiration to attempt a reformation of English life through the medium of a New School.⁸⁵ Reddie founded the New School Abbotsholme in 1889. He returned to Germany in 1893 to study pedagogy at Jena with Wilhelm Rein, at which time he also met Hermann Lietz. Already something of a Germanophile, Reddie became a wholehearted follower of Herbart and Rein, actively seeking to infuse German ideas and organization into his school and into English life.

...(Reddie) was deeply impressed by the methods he saw applied in that school, Übungsschule at Jena, and by Rein's volume Padagogik im Grundriss. "...as if by magic, the fog lifted, and we saw a new instructional heaven and earth. The impression wrought upon us by the book was deep; it was confirmed by intercourse with the distinguished author." Reddie then "...returned to England and to Abbotsholme feeling we had behind our aims the arguments of an entire philosophy."⁸⁶

Although Reddie drew from a knowledge of Fichte, Pestalozzi, Froebel and Salzmann, it should be emphasized that Reddie's school had its roots more in English radicalism and neo-romanticism (Carlyle, Disraeli, Ruskin, Carpenter, Morris, etc.), and within the English Public School tradition,

than in German educational philosophy and practice.

In Abbotsholme Reddie intended to create an "ideal miniature Kingdom"⁸⁷ which would be the prototype of a reorganized English nation. Like Carpenter, he felt himself to be working to build "a new political system, a new sociological order, a new religion, almost a new language."⁸⁸ In opposition to an unnatural, inharmonious, essentially unrealistic, bourgeois society,

- The whole life at... Abbotsholme was ...planned so as to develop harmoniously all the powers of the boy--physical, intellectual, artistic, moral, and spiritual--to train him, in fact, how to live, and become a wholesome, reasonable and useful member of human society.⁸⁹

The goal was to develop boys of a "...strong, self-reliant, disciplined and moral character",⁹⁰ who were capable of successfully directing the future British Empire. They were to become harmonious individuals within an organically related whole. Religion and life, the ideal and the real, were not to be separated, but to be fused into a unity.

...Our wish is to present life to the boys, not as if divided into religious and secular fragments, but as one organic and harmonious whole. We wish them to realize that the day's routine from beginning to end is, after all, one long yet varied religious service, planned to perfect to the utmost every person here in body, soul, and spirit; in senses, emotions and thought.⁹¹

That "narrow and stultifying pedantry " that crammed Latin and Greek without regard for the real world or for the needs of children"⁹² was to be avoided, as was the over-emphasis upon examinations, which always ended in the valuing of "book work" above character development. The idealism and end-of-the-century optimism incorporated into Abbotsholme is reflected in the school song, which was adapted from Whitman's "The Love of Comrades":

In line with this stance, great emphasis was put upon "learning by doing", and a close, comradely relationship between masters and pupils.

Masters were encouraged to live very much the same life as the boys, to share the same routines and disciplines, in fact to regard themselves as older and wiser boys. Essentially Reddie continued to see himself as a Senior Prefect - "on the side" of the pupils, or at least of their higher selves, against those who strove to destroy and pervert the splendour and purity of "Boy Nature."⁹⁷

Every attempt was made to foster an atmosphere of love, trust and affection, rather than the hate, fear and envy common to so many public schools. A "pedagogical eros" was to be used to help lift the boys up from the vice and perversion of their lower natures to spiritual realms. In one of the hallways leading to the dining hall at Abbotsholme, the boys could view a magnificent canvas entitled "L'Ange des Splendeurs",

...depicting, in the words of one of the pupils, "an angel (who has come down from heaven) trying to save a youth from the serpents of vice and evil which surround him, and beckoning him upwards to better things."⁹⁸

Informality and openness encouraged by the simplicity of the clothing (shorts or knickers, open-throated shirts, sandals, berets) and nakedness. Physical development was given a high priority. According to Skidelsky,

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the prime activity of Abbotsholme was the cultivation of the body in the belief that this would at the same time purify the soul.⁹⁹

Each child was required to do manual labor, to come into daily contact with the "things" of the world, to aid him in breaking out of the sheltered and sterile world of bourgeois society. One of the high points of the year at the school was the haymaking festival, which had a decidedly pagan, ritualistic flavor, and was meant to be a cosmic religious

rite, object lesson in English life and culture, practical training, and physical education, all at once.

Some mention should be made of the schedule at Abbotsholme, which was adopted, almost in its entirety, by Lietz. (For ease of comparison, Haubinda's schedule is placed alongside that of Abbotsholme.)¹⁰⁰

Abbotsholme		Landerziehungshieme	
6:10	Rise	6:10	Rise
6:30	Light breakfast, morning run	6:30	Breakfast
6:45	1st class period	6:45	1st class period
7:30	Chapel	7:30	Room cleaning
7:40	Breakfast	7:45	2nd class period
8:00	Room cleaning, personal hygiene, etc.		
8:30	2nd class period	8:30	Run
9:30	3rd class period	9:00	3rd class period
10:15	Light snack	10:15	4th class period
11:30	5th class period	11:15	5th class period
12:15	Bath in river	12:15	Free time, music, bathing
13:00	Noon meal, music in Chapel	13:00	Noon meal, music in Chapel
14:00	Drawing, carpentry, sport, garden work, laboratory	14:00	Practical work, art, sport, play
18:00	Tea	16:00	Light snack
19:15	Singing	16:30	Study period
20:25	Light evening meal	18:30	Evening meal
20:40	Chapel	18:45	Free time, play
21:00	Bed	20:00	Chapel
		20:30	Bed

There was never any doubt about Lietz and the German Landerziehungsheimbewegung having been influenced by Cecil Reddie and Abbotsholme. Indeed, Lietz was always the first to acknowledge his debt to Reddie. It was predictable, however, as the movement grew and the tide of nationalism in Germany rose after World War I, that a controversy should develop concerning the extent to which Lietz's creation could be called his own. Already in his book Abbotsholme Reddie "maintained that Lietz's school, as well as many other new schools in Europe, 'have been

established in frank and cordial imitation of our own."¹⁰¹ Although Andreesen maintained that Lietz's work was "unthinkable" without Reddie and Abbotsholme, he also held that the Landerziehungsheime were still not a mere copy of the English school.

Was er übernimmt, ist die "Form"; insbesondere die englische Form des Internats in der Abwandlung der "New School", die er dan jedoch sehr bald eindeutschte. Was er in Abbotsholme vorfand und was ihm - der eigentlich nur aus dem Gefühl und der improvisation lebte - imponierte, war der kluge systematische Aufbau dieses Schullebens, in das Reddie alle Erfahrungen modernster Pädagogik eingebaut hatte, und die sichere lebensnahe Praxis englischer Internatserziehung, die Frucht einer langen Internats-tradition ist und so wohltuend von der schulmeisterlichen Pedanterie deutschen Gelehrtschulen abstach.

Aber wollte Lietz zu eigenen Gründungen kommen, so brauchte dieser im Pädagogischen und Ethischen geniale Mensch die festen äusseren Formen, die erst zu schaffen ihm nicht möglich gewesen wäre. Ohne Abbotsholme hatte er improvisiert und gewiss erst jahrelang an den äusseren Formen so lange herumexperimentiert, dass eine solche Schulgründung, die immer wirtschaftliches Wagnis ist, derweil längst zugrunde gegangen wäre. So übernahm er von Abbotsholme die Formen, ja, er kopierte sie zunächst bis ins einzelne: den Tagesverlauf bis auf die Minuteneinteilung, die Schul-tracht, die in Deutschland ungebräuchliche, für England gerade gültige Sportanzug-Mode, die wallisische Kappe, selbst den Speis-zettel, beginnend mit dem Porridge am Morgen, sowie den ganzen erzieherischen Aufbau des englischen Präfektensystems. Das ging im anfang so weit, das er selbst das englische "Prayer-book" übernahm.¹⁰²

According to Andreesen, Lietz's imitation of Reddie included even personal mannerisms: It is amazing, writes Andreesen,

...das...Lietz seinen verehrten Freund bis in Einzelheiten der Gest nachahmte, ja dass dieser Stil schliesslich völlig der eigene wurde. Eine merkwürdige Art der Kopfhaltung, wenn er in feierlicher Rede vor seiner Schule stand, eine Verschiebung der Stimme nach dem Kehlkopflauten in Augenblicken einer moralischen Erregung oder eines feierlichen Pathos, die Art der Armhaltung, die Hände in die Jackentaschen gesteckt, den Daumen herausgespreizt!¹⁰³

In an early article, Gustav Wyneken asserted that "Alles in allem sind englische Eigentümlichkeiten in der deutschen Anstalt kaum zu finden,"

while O. Karstadt, in an essay from 1922 on experimental schools, claimed that "Die Landerziehungsheime von Lietz sind einer neuer Anfang, keine Nachahmung von Abbotsholme."¹⁰⁴ Adolph E. Meyer, in his Modern European Educators and Their Work, takes the view that although Abbotsholme left its mark on the Landerziehungsheime, the latter "would have been born regardless of Lietz's English experience."¹⁰⁵ For his own part, Lietz quite naturally sought to defend himself against charges that his schools were mere imitations of Abbotsholme. In his Lebenserinnerungen, Lietz says that he felt immediately at home in Reddie's school, and found there

...das Meiste von dem verwirklicht, was ich mir längst selbst gewünscht und auch im kleinen, soweit ich es vermöchte, bereits versucht hatte: Ein freundschaftliches Verhältnis zwischen Erziehern und Schülern, gesundes, frisches, frohes Leben, Verbindung geistiger und körperlicher Arbeit und Übung, Erhebung und Verinnerlichung durch Werke der Schönheit und Weisheit. Und dazu noch herrliche ländliche Gegend und anheimelnde Räume.¹⁰⁶

Some pages later, he defends himself against the specific charge of having merely copied Abbotsholme:

Weder in England noch anderswo brauchte ich ein Modell zur Nachahmung zu suchen. Was ich späterhin geschaffen habe, entstand aus dem bitteren Leid, das mir die eigene Schule beschert, aus der Freude und Begeisterung, die mir Heimat, Ferien, Elternhaus, Studienzeit verschafft hatten, und vor allem aus der Teilnahme und Liebe zur Jugend und Volk, die seit frühen Jahren in mir lebten. Diese Zuneigung und Begeisterung, dies soziale und nationale Pflichtgefühl hatte mich ja schon seit den Studenten-jahren in Jena, in der Heimat, in Sachsen zu einer Arbeit getrieben, die der in Abbotsholme vielfach verwandt war. Von einem geistes- und herzensverwandten Manne ausgehend, hatte sie sich dort ungehemmt durch staatliche Vorschriften entfalten können. So wurde das Abbotsholmer Jahr zwar nicht die Entstehungsursache, wohl aber eine Zeit des Antriebs und der Förderung der mich bewegenden Ideen und Kräfte.¹⁰⁷

One should also recall Rein's assertion that Lietz was putting his (Rein's) own ideas into practice in the Landerziehungsheime. Finally

William Brickman's conclusion as to the influence of Reddie and Abbotsholme upon Lietz should be mentioned, if for no other reason, for its atypical caution and impartiality.

In the first place, Lietz had a complete progressive pedagogical system, and suggested improvements in certain aspects. On the other side of the question, Lietz saw the successful operation of a New School for the first time at Abbotsholme. He expressed his admiration for the school and its founder in his first pedagogical book. The second part of *Emlohstobba*, containing an extended criticism of the contemporary German school and suggestions for reform, following as it does immediately upon the appreciation of the English school, leaves the implication at least that its author was influenced by what he saw and experienced. Then Lietz returned to Germany and opened a school which was similar in aims and organization to the one he had just left. It is not too much to say that he was inspired by the example of Reddie and took the latter's school as a model for his own, particularly since Lietz never mentioned in print before 1897 the intention of opening a school in Germany....all evidence seems to point to Reddie as the immediate source of inspiration. At any rate, it can be asserted with definiteness that Reddie played an influential role in the founding of the Landerziehungsheime. That influence made itself felt primarily in the organization of the schools.¹⁰⁸

CHAPTER III

THE SPIRITUAL "CRISIS" AND SEARCH FOR RENEWAL

In his Philosophy of Civilization, Albert Schweitzer remarked that his generation had lived in "an atmosphere of optimism."¹ Hans-Joachim Schoeps also notes this general feeling of well-being which characterized the years between 1870 and 1914:

Auch trotz Betonung mancher Schattenseiten ist man einhellig davon überzeugt, im Zenit einer glänzenden Entwicklung zu stehen, aus eigener Kraft grösste Erfolge errungen zu haben, um die die ganze Welt Deutschland beneidet. Man hatte damals, ein Jahr bevor die alte Welt des 19. Jahrhunderts tatsächlich zu Ende ging, noch ein so starkes Kraftgefühl und Selbstvertrauen, dass man alle Schwierigkeiten und Hindernisse spielend überwinden zu können meinte.²

Although the general temper was one of confidence, even smugness, there were many who would have agreed with Lietz that "Je reicher wir an Gut und Macht, desto ärmer waren wir an Seele geworden. Die Welt war fast gewonnen, die Seele vieler verloren gegangen."³ Industrialization had brought with it a disruption of the traditional social bonds, the gradual disappearance of an independent peasantry and artisan class, and the rise of an uprooted, socialism-prone working class which set itself increasingly in opposition to God, King and country. The spread of science and technology had undermined religion and encouraged a "shallow materialism," utilitarianism and atheism. Eucken wrote of this shattering of the traditional bases of society:

We are...today in a state of painful contradiction, which grows more and more intolerable, and shakes the very foundations of human society. All that we had hitherto regarded and treasured as firm supports had begun to totter. Much that we had thought self-evident now seems to us a difficult, if not insoluble, problem. In particular we have the unpleasant experience of

seeing life grow weaker on one side and more brutal on the other. Our most urgent problem is, therefore, how to bring about a moral and spiritual strengthening, if not a revolution. We need a radical renewal of spiritual life.⁴

The land of poets and thinkers had been transformed, in less than two generations, to the home of industrialists and financiers. Eugene

Friedell has captured this transition and typifies the "Mandarin" hostility to the new Germany that was emerging under the Empire:

In the last act of the Modern Age, which rises with the immorality of the Renaissance and sets with the immorality of Zarathustra, Germany was the leading champion. Beginning with a survey of the most superficial manifestations of life - we see Germany at the head of almost the entire manufacturing world, leading the fashion in gun-construction, ship-building, and the optical, chemical, and electro-technical industries. In marked contrast to the old Germany, Berlin is governed, no longer by Fichte and Hegel, but by Siemens and Halske, and the brothers Humboldt are succeeded by Bleichroder Brothers; at Jena Zeiss succeeds Schiller as a world-famous personage; at Nurnberg Durer's works are superseded by Schuckert's; Frankfurt am Main retires before Hoechst am Main, and in place of the Farbenlehre we have the Farben-AG. One of the essential changes in the outward carriage of the period is the rise of a new tempo: hurriedly built light railways, omnibuses, tramways - horse, steam, and eventually electric - fill the town picture; lightning trains, telephones improving with every year, and daily increasing telegraph facilities provide distant communications. This system of communications, as complicated as it is centralized, gives man not merely accelerated speed, but the power of being everywhere: his voice, his writing, his body pierces at any distance, his shorthand note, his camera fix the most fleeting impression. He is everywhere, and therefore nowhere. He embraces the whole of reality, but in the form of a dead substitute for reality. An impressive symbol of this state of mind is the sinking of the Titanic, the world's greatest luxury ship, which on its first voyage out made a speed-record, but at the cost of death.⁵

For many, industrialization was believed to be destroying the German way of life and replacing it with a foreign one. Traditional German simplicity, truthfulness, modesty, loyalty and courage were being corrupted by luxury, immorality, ostentation, laissez-faire individualism and pragmatism. Idealism had given way before Positivism. By the end of the

century, "cultural criticism" had become almost fashionable. The fear of "cultural decline," which was later to find expression in Spengler's Decline of the West, was already widespread before the onset of World War I.

The decline of Rome from world power into luxury and effeminacy and eventual dissolution at the hands of barbarians, was the analogy most commonly used in attempting to understand the European present and predict the future. Lietz, for example, often used the analogy of Rome and the Völkerwanderung in discussing the "crisis" and salvation of modern Germany.⁶ Albert Schweitzer predicted the onset of a new medieval period, while the Englishman George Moore, forecast degeneration into softness and sentimentalism. Moore's was a vision of a declining world, of a great age slipping gradually into hushed twilight, while in the distance sounded the clash of armies, of barbarian hordes bringing rapine and slaughter; of glowering clouds lit crimson from burning cities. It was a picture of an overripe, voluptuous, refined civilization being ridden down by skin-clad horsemen.

...the old world of heroes is over now. The skies above us are dark with sentimentalism, the sand beneath us is shoaling fast, we are running with streaming canvas upon ruin; all ideals have gone; nothing remains for us to worship but the Mass, the blind, inchoate, insatiate Mass; fog and fenland before us; we shall founder in the putrefying mud, creatures of the ooze and rushes about us - we, the great ship that has drifted up from the antique world....Men are today as thick as flies in a confectioner's shop; in fifty years there will be less to eat, but certainly some millions more mouths. I laugh, I rub my hands! I shall be dead before the red time comes...The French Revolution will compare to the revolution that is to come, that is inevitable, as a puddle on the roadside compares with the sea. Men will hang like pears on every lamp-post; in every great quarter of London there will be electric guillotine that will decapitate the rich like hogs in Chicago. Christ, who with his white feet trod out the blood of the ancient world, and promised universal peace, shall go out in a cataclysm of blood. The neck of mankind will be opened, and blood

shall cover the face of the earth.⁷

Albert Schweitzer's vision of a declining Europe due to the destruction of the traditional Weltanschauung, loss of individualism, freedom and the will to life, also makes use of the Roman analogy:

A dull despair hovers about us. How well we understand the man of the Greco-Roman decadence, who stood before events incapable of resistance, and, leaving the world to its fate, withdrew upon their inner selves! Like them, we hear enticing voices which say to us that the one thing which can still make life tolerable is to live for the day. We must, we are told, renounce every wish to think or hope about anything beyond our own fate. We must find rest in resignation....The fall of the Roman Empire in spite of that Empire's having over it so many rulers of conspicuous ability, may be traced ultimately to the fact that ancient philosophy produced no theory of the universe with ideas that tended to that empire's preservation. With the rise of stoicism, as the definitive answer of the philosophic thought of antiquity, the fate of the world down to the middle ages was decided. The idea of resignation, noble idea as it is, could not insure progress in a world-wide empire. The efforts of its strongest emperors were useless. The yarn with which they had to weave was rotten.⁸

Schweitzer was a neo-Kantian and, like Lietz, believed that the source of cultural progress or decline lay in a nation's Weltanschauung. The decay of the ancient and modern world resulted from the disintegration of their religions and the world-views they supported. The machines of modern man could no more preserve his civilization from decline than the leaders of the ancient world could their's. Without a coherent world-view life had no organizational principle to give it meaning.

The spirit of the age drives us into action without allowing us to attain any clear view of the objective world and of life....it keeps us in a sort of intoxication of activity so that we may never have time to reflect and to ask ourselves what this restless sacrifice of ourselves to ends and achievements really has to do with the meaning of the world and of our lives. And so we wander hither and thither in the gathering dusk formed by the lack of any definite theory of the universe, like homeless, drunken mercenaries, and enlist indifferently in the service of the common and the great without distinguishing between them.⁹

Modern life was increasingly unable to supply the coherent world-view needed by European man. Attempts to construct one out of science and history would remain unethical, unoptimistic and without coercive force. Like Lietz, Schweitzer considered the industrial city to be an unlikely starting point for the rebirth of civilization:

...the factory system creates continually growing agglomerations of people who are thereby compulsorily separated from the soil which feeds them, from their own homes and from nature. Hence comes psychical injury. There is only too much truth in the paradoxical saying that abnormal life begins with the loss of one's own field and dwelling-place....When we consider this want of freedom and of mental concentration we see that conditions of life for the inhabitants of our big cities are as unfavorable as they could be....It is doubtful whether big cities have ever been foci of civilization...today, at any rate, the condition of things is such that true civilization needs to be rescued from the spirit that issues from them and their inhabitants.¹⁰

The hurried pace and distraction of modern urban life left the worker little time or desire for self-cultivation, but drove him, rather, to complete idleness or the search for an entertainment that made the least possible demands upon his spiritual faculties.¹¹ Specialization had narrowed the scope of human life, and when combined with the oppression of the individual man by social institutions and organizations, threatened the total dehumanization of modern life. Hope for modern man would come not from science and technology, but from the creation of a new Weltanschauung and a "new man":

But civilization can only revive when there shall come into being in a number of individuals a new tone of mind independent of the one prevalent among the crowd and in opposition to it, a tone of mind which will gradually win influence over the collective one, and in the end determine its character. It is only an ethical movement which can rescue us from the slough of barbarism, and the ethical comes into existence only in individuals.¹²

Although Lietz held many convictions about the nature of European decline that were similar to those of Albert Schweitzer, it cannot be overlooked that Lietz's vision was primarily national--even nationalistic. This was, perhaps, due to Lietz's enthusiasm for the more national and historical idealism of Herder and Fichte.¹³ The idea of cultural decline is implicit in Fichte's Addresses to the German Nation. A nation draws its strength from its original spiritual impulse, its Geist, which is created by God and intimately involved with his purpose for the world. As long as the nation remains true to this original impulse, and its language and culture which have grown out of it, it develops in harmony with God's will and is preserved. Those nations which have corrupted this original impulse through the absorption of foreign practices and ideals, eventually lose contact with their source of divine energy and fall into decline. These nations cease to actualize God's will and are no longer channels of his continuing revelation. Such peoples cease to play an active role in the world's history.

Lietz was also indebted to Paul de Lagarde's formulation of the "crisis" of the German spirit and its resolution through a return to the original spiritual impulses of the nation. Lagarde's vision was similar to that of Fichte's. Both have their source in the Old Testament paradigm of the proper relationship between God and nation. Lagarde also believed Germany to be a people who had preserved their original spiritual impulse throughout their entire history. That distinctly "German" quality described by Tacitus could be seen, as well, in the medieval Reich, in Luther and sometimes in later Germans. This original spirit was threatened with corruption by two forces: the adoption of foreign

ideas and institutions, and the blind adherence to the shell, rather than the kernel, of past revelations. This latter error could lead to cultural and religious formalism, as it did with the ancient Hebrews, and strangle out the authentic spiritual impulse. The nation must remain possessed by the dynamic, vital flow of God's will. Although this spirit, or Volkgeist, was essentially always the same, its actualization was not, as changing times and conditions demanded varied responses from the nation. The two threats to Germany's spiritual life, then, were foreign ideas and institutions such as democracy, materialism, and utilitarianism, and the stubborn conservatism that held to the form rather than the spirit of the nation's historical development. In Lagarde's view, the nation had become utterly corrupted and could only be saved through a thoroughgoing reform of all facets of national life. He particularly castigated the educational system, believing, like Fichte, that it would be through education that a "new man"--and through him, a new nation--would be created.

The third major influence upon Lietz's understanding of his age and conception of the spiritual "crisis" of modern Germany, was that of Rudolf Eucken. Like Schweitzer, he viewed the dilemma of modern Europe to result from the loss of a religious-philosophical foundation to life. The solution to the "crisis" lay in the development of a new Weltanschauung (Syntagma) and its individualization into personality and ethics. The goal for man and the world was the spiritualization of life through the ordering of individual and collective life in harmony with the necessities of the spirit. The regeneration of modern life would result from the growth of an ethical idealism among men.

I. FICHTE

The idealism and nationalism of Johann Gottlieb Fichte, his personality, and his program for national regeneration through universal education, were major influences upon the development of Lietz's thought and work. Along with E. M. Arndt, Eucken and Paul de Lagarde, Fichte was a model for Lietz's development as a man, patriot and educator.¹⁴ Walter Schäfer, in his biography of Paul Geheeb, views Lietz as a disciple of Fichte--particularly his dream of national renewal by means of a national education.

Hermann Lietz ging es um die Erneuerung des deutschen Lebens von der Erneuerung der jungen Generation her. Fichte war der grosse Herausforderer und Ratgeber. Von ähnlichen menschheitlichem und nationalen Eifer wie jener Philosoph erfüllt, meinte auch Lietz dass eine neue Nationalschule das deutsche Volk aus seiner Not zu führen vermöge. Wie Fichte glaubte auch Lietz, dass die Erneuerung nicht innerhalb der bestehenden Gesellschaft gelingen könne. Als weithin sichtbares Modell wollte er entsprechende Schulen abseits der ihm problematisch erscheinenden stätischen Zivilisation gründen. Er wollte die Jugend in die primäre Erlebnis- und Erfahrungswelt führen. Denn schon damals empfand man, dass die Jugend durch das zwar noch nicht analysierte und so bekannte aber doch schon empfundene "sekundäre System" von wahren Menschentum weggeführt wurde.¹⁵

It was not just Fichte's educational program that inspired Lietz and attracted him to the philosopher, but also his passionate devotion to his nation and service to humanity. While most educated Germans, during the late nineteenth century, were finding in Goethe a model for their own development, Lietz turned, instead, towards Fichte. According to Andreesen:

Für uns Deutsche ist Goethe das Urbild der Persönlichkeit....
Nicht so Lietz!
Niemals hat er sich selbst gelebt, niemals war Persönlichkeitsbildung um ihrer selbst willen sein Ziel. Immer nur lebte er für andere; immer nur arbeitete er an einem Werke; die Dinge des

Alltags zu durchdringen und zu gestalten, war sein Leben. Er war ein Mensch Fichtescher Prägung; für ihn galt - wenn überhaupt für einen Menschen - das Wort Fichtes: "An meinem Leben, an meinem Dasein liegt nichts, an seinem Wirkungen unendlich viel."¹⁶

Just prior to beginning his career as an educator, Lietz briefly considered entering a social ministry similar to that of Friedrich Naumann, Theodor von Wächter and Moritz von Egidy. After his Probejahr at Putbus, he verged on assuming a Leipzig pastorate, thinking that in the preaching of a social gospel he could win the workers back to God and nation, and to an ethical idealism like Fichte's.

Was mich an dieser Stelle lockte, war die Hoffnung, hier meine sozialpolitischen Ideale verwirklichen zu können, die Arbeitermassen im Sinn eines freien Christentums, im Geist des ethischen Idealismus eines Fichte zu beeinflussen, sie aus der atheistisch-materialistischen, sowie anti-nationalen Richtung herauszureissen.¹⁷

In an article in the periodical of the Landerziehungsheime, Leben und Arbeit, Paul Geheeb mentioned Lietz's enthusiasm for Fichte's social and educational ideals:

Wir Geheeb and Lietz hatten viel in Städten gelebt, einen Teil unserer Studienzeit in Berlin zugebracht, wo uns das soziale Elend der Grossstadt mit Grauen erfüllte; and durchdrungen von der Überzeugung, dass nicht nur vor 100 Jahren die Welt mehr oder weniger verderbt gewesen sei, wurden wir in dem starken Gefühl für den Antagonismus zwischen wahren Menschentum und den Übeln der Zivilisation begeisterte Jünger Fichtes. Uns beschäftigten also nicht eigentlich die damals allmählich in Fluss kommenden Fragen der Schulreform....Uns handelte es sich um das Problem, das gesamte Leben der Menschen auf eine völlig neue, gesündere Basis zu stellen, und zwar vermittelt einer von Grund aus neuen Erziehung, wie Fichte sie in seinen Reden an die deutsche Nation gepredigt.¹⁸

It was towards the education of youth that Lietz turned in his work for national renewal. There can be little doubt that his pedagogical activity was inspired by the spirit and work of Fichte, particularly as contained in his famous Reden an die deutsche Nation. Kerschensteiner, for example, considered Lietz's schools to have been inspired by Fichte.¹⁹

Geheeb, in a conversation concerning his early years at Haubinda, recalled the strongly Fichtean character of the school:

Wenn man etwa durch Haubinda, dieses grösste Lietzsche Landerziehungsheim, gegangen wäre, und man hätte kurz vorher die Reden Fichtes gelesen, so hätte man gefunden, dass Lietz alles genauso aufgebaut hätte. In diesem Sinne ist Fichte doch der Vater der Landerziehungsheime.²⁰

For his own part, Lietz saw Haubinda as an attempt to realize Fichte's

Erziehungsstaat and Goethe's pädagogische Provinz.

Alles, was wir zum Leben brauchten, verhiess dieser Besitz herzugeben. Gelegenheit, praktische Arbeit jederlei Art zu erlernen, bot er allen. Das Fichtische Ideal eines geschlossenen Handelsstaates, die Goethesche "pädagogische Provinz" schien in diesen kleinen, in sich abschlossenen Welt durchführbar zu sein.²¹

Fichte's Reden an die deutsche Nation were delivered in Berlin in the winter of 1807-1808, at the height of the Prussian "cultural crisis," when it appeared that a distinct German nation might well disappear beneath the victorious waves of revolutionary French culture. Like Eucken and Lagarde, Lietz, too, felt himself to be living in a time of "crisis" analogous to that of Fichte.²² At the beginning of Die deutsche Nationalschule²³ Lietz states that 100 years earlier patriots like Fichte, Stein, Scharnhorst, Schleiermacher and Jahn, had tried to bring about the religious and ethical rebirth of Germany. Although conditions seemed better under the Empire, actually the nation was in even greater danger than earlier, and what with the pleasure-seeking and frivolity of the majority, the prospect of a spiritual rebirth appeared even more unpromising:

Dazu ist aber eine so traurige Zerrissenheit der Geister, zersplitterung der Kräfte und Verbitterung der Volksgenossen gegen einander gekommen, wie damals sicherlich nicht vorhanden waren. Durch die gänzlich umgestalteten wirtschaftlichen und politischen Verhältnisse, durch die gewaltige Erweiterung des Arbeits-, Lebens-,

Verkehrsgebietes des deutschen Volkes, sind die Aufgaben und Schwierigkeiten gegen damals unendlich vergrößert.²⁴

Whereas the earlier crisis had been brought about through defeat by France, the modern one was a result of too much political and economic success. Germany's unification and rise to European hegemony had encouraged a one-sided cultivation of power, pleasure, materiality, and appearances. There was a corresponding disregard for the spiritual, for religion and ethics.²⁵ Particularly in the large cities, one encountered alcoholism, "sexualism", effeminacy, luxury and atheism. In these "cesspools" the nation's great heroes and traditions were held up to public ridicule.²⁶ Men had abandoned the True, the Good and the Beautiful, for the Expedient, the Profitable and the Impressive. Germany had become rich in goods but poor in spirit.²⁷ Like Fichte and Eucken, Lietz believed that Germany could only be saved from ruin by a religious and ethical rebirth.

In the Addresses Fichte proposed a national system of education as the surest means of achieving Germany's regeneration.

It follows, then, that the mean of salvation that I promised to indicate consists in the fashioning of an entirely new self, which may have existed before perhaps in individuals as an exception, but never as a universal and national self, and in the education of the nation...to a completely new life....In a word, it is a total change of the existing system of education that I propose as the sole means of preserving the existence of the German nation.²⁸

After despairing of the efficacy of von Egidy's social mission in Berlin, and turning away from a similar course in Leipzig, Lietz, too, came to see the education of youth as the only sure road to spiritual rebirth.

→ His Landerziehungsheim was to be an actualization of Fichte's Erziehungsstaat and a model for the reconstruction of the German school system.²⁹

Die heutige Kultur befindet sich, wie das oftmals an der Wende von Jahrhunderten der Fall ist, im Übergangsstadium. Wie einst beim Übergang zum 16. und zum 19., so ringt auch heute beim Übergang zum 20. Jahrhundert gewaltiger denn je altes mit neuem. Viele kleine Scharmützel werden dabei stattfinden. Aber die Entscheidungsschlacht wird auf dem weiten Gebiet der Volkserziehung geschlagen werden. Hie Unterrichtsschule! Hie Erziehungsschule! ist die Parole. Welche wird siegen? Davon wird das Wohl der Nation abhängen. Verhelft die Erziehungsschule zum Siege! Und die Nation ist gerettet.³⁰

In both Fichte's and Lietz's Erziehungsschule a new man would be produced who would, in turn, create a new nation.

By this means [universal national education] too, we have also seen, a type of man quite different from men as they usually have been hitherto will be introduced and become the rule. As a result of this education, therefore, a totally new order of things and a new creation would begin.³¹

Fichte saw the ultimate purpose of man, and therefore of education as well, to be the realization of the ideal--the creation of heaven on earth:

The natural impulse of man...is to find heaven on this earth, and to endow his daily work on earth with permanence and eternity; to plant and to cultivate the eternal in the temporal--not merely in an incomprehensible fashion or in a connection with the eternal that seems to mortal eye an impenetrable gulf, but in a fashion visible to the mortal eye itself.³²

Fichte believed the German nation, because of its original language, to have a central role in the construction of a heaven on earth. To fulfill this role, the nation had to be brought back to its original, true nature--to its native language and culture. The next step in Germany's evolution required that self-seeking and pleasure of body give way to self-sacrifice for the community, pleasure in doing right, and love. Germans were no longer to be creatures of chance, but through the free will were to take their destiny into their own hands and work out, consciously, their own salvation.³³ The new national education had the task

of molding the Germans "into a corporate body...stimulated and animated in all its individual members by a common interest."³⁴ Like Kant before him, and Herbart, Eucken, Rein and Lietz after, Fichte considered the development of an ethical will in the individual as one of the primary tasks of education. Such a will could not be formed by the old education, which failed to penetrate "to the roots of vital impulse and action."³⁵ The new education was to be directed, in contrast, to the entire man and the entire people:

This education, then, no longer appears, as it did at the beginning of our address today, simply as the art of training the pupil to pure morality, but is rather the art of training the whole man completely and fully for manhood. In this connection there are two essentials. First, in regard to form, it is the real living human being, not simply the shadow and phantom of a man, who is to be trained to the very roots of his life. Then, in regard to content, all the essential component parts of man are to be developed equally and without exception. These component parts are understanding and will; and education has to aim at clearness in the former and purity in the latter....At every step in the training, then, it is the integral man that is fashioned. The man who is always treated by education as an indivisible whole will remain so for the future and all knowledge will inevitably become for him a motive in life.³⁶

Fichte's criticism of the old education is already visible in the above. It lacked both a true conception of "education for manhood" and the power of realizing that conception.³⁷ It provided a veneer of cultivation, but left the real man unchanged. At best it developed the mind alone. The heart of education--the development of character, of individuality--was left up to chance.

What was lacking in the old system--namely, an influence penetrating to the roots of vital impulse and action--the new education must supply. Accordingly, as the old system was able at best to train some part of man, so the new must train man himself, and must make the training given, not, as hitherto, the pupil's possession, but an integral part of himself.³⁸

A further criticism of the old type of education was that it was based on social classes and privilege rather than individual ability. It also ignored the fact that the welfare of the commonwealth rests in the great majority, not in the upper classes. Consequently, the new education must be applied

...to every German without exception, so that it is not the education of a single class, but the education of the nation, simply as such and without excepting any of its individual members. In this, that is to say in the training of a man to take real pleasure in what is right, all distinction of classes which may in the future find a place in other branches of development will be completely removed and vanish.³⁹

Both Lietz and Fichte felt themselves to be living in a time of corruption and immorality. The nation had lost its connection to its own past, its culture, its own unique nature. This alienation permeated the entire society. To rear children in such an environment was to insure that they, too, would become corrupted. Fichte's radical solution to this dilemma, like Lietz's later, was to advocate the foundation of a closed educational community, an Erziehungsstaat, self-sufficient and isolated from the bad influences of the parent society.

Up to now, this simplicity and childlike faith of the young in the higher perfection of adults has been used, as a rule, for their corruption. It was precisely their innocence and their natural faith in us that made it possible for us, before they could distinguish good and evil, to implant in them, instead of the good that they inwardly wished, our own corruption, which they would have abhorred if they had been able to recognize it. This, I say, is the very greatest transgression of which our age is guilty....It...proves that the present generation, if it does not completely isolate its successors, will inevitably leave behind an even more corrupt posterity, and this, again, one still more corrupt....In contact with us they must become corrupt; that is unavoidable. If we have a spark of love for them, we must remove them from our tainted atmosphere and erect a purer abode for them....We must not let them out of this society into ours again, until they have learned to detest thoroughly all our corruption and are thereby completely safe from all infection.⁴⁰

Lietz was also to agree with Fichte that an education which aimed at national regeneration could not content itself with the proper structuring of classroom instruction alone, as some Herbartians maintained. The entire life of the child had to come under the influence of the new education. According to Fichte:

It is essential...that from the very beginning the pupil should be continuously and completely under the influence of this education, and should be separated altogether from the community and kept from all contact with it.⁴¹

It was partly the radical nature of Fichte's proposal that attracted Lietz, himself thoroughly out of sympathy with his time. Lietz also conceived of the healthy will as one that went straight to the root of problems and did not stop at half-measures. It was partly Fichte's influence that caused Lietz and two Swiss friends to dream of founding a kind of "cloister school" on some lonely island:

Der Gedanke an eine Art Klosterleben in wissenschaftlicher Arbeit und landwirtschaftlicher Tätigkeit lockte mich. Noch mehr aber zog es mich an, damit Jugenderziehung zu verbinden. Mit meinem Schweizer Freunde schwärmte ich davon, auf einer einsamen Insel eine Klosterschule zu gründen....Wurde ich Lehrer, dann wollte ich allerdings mit ganzer Kraft, Verantwortlichkeit und Selbständigkeit wirken. Alles Halbe, Schwächliche, Matte war mich zuwider. Fichte, E. M. Arndt, P. de Lagarde and R. Eucken waren mir Vorbilder.⁴²

One difference between Lietz's and Fichte's ideas about the corruption of their own times should be mentioned. Fichte believed his own age to be utterly corrupt, which involved him in the difficulty of how an uncontaminated younger generation was to be raised up.⁴³ Lietz, on the other hand, believed the source of Germany's problems to lie mainly in "modernization"⁴⁴--particularly in urban life and culture.⁴⁵ In this regard Lietz is closer to the thought of Lagarde and end-of-the-century

neo-romanticism than to Fichte and German classicism.

Fichte's Erziehungsstaat was to be a closed community of teachers and youth striving to realize, in itself, the ideal commonwealth. This perfect state would be, in miniature, the ideal society which the pupils would naturally strive to construct in their adult lives.⁴⁶ The primary emphasis was not to be placed on the individual, but upon the community. Each child would be so trained as to derive the greatest personal pleasure from selfless service to the whole. The will was to find its highest fulfillment through willing in accordance with the necessities involved in the creation of the perfect state. Learning was not to be divorced from life, but joined inseparably with it. Physical work was to be as integral a part of communal life as learning, physical development as important as intellectual cultivation. In keeping with the Fichtean ideal of the geschlossene Handelsstaat, the pupils would be encouraged to provide all goods and services required by the community. An intense love of nation, language and native culture would also be cultivated.

Fichte's ideal was the harmoniously developed man living in a harmonious world. Each facet of man was to contribute to the efficient functioning of the whole, while this whole in turn was aimed at the religious goal of the union of the divine and the world, the ideal with the real.

II. PAUL DE LAGARDE

Paul de Lagarde, a noted theologian and orientalist at Göttingen, fused theology, history, nationalism and a romantic anti-modernism into a philosophy of history that was at once both radical and conservative.

His attitudes toward the state, history, God and the modern world were similar in many respects to those of Thomas Carlyle. It is generally accepted that Lagarde's thought and personality had a strong formative influence upon Lietz, particularly in the area of social philosophy.⁴⁷

In his autobiography Lietz mentions Lagarde, along with Arndt, Eucken and Fichte, as a model for his own development.⁴⁸ Lietz found in him a man "für dessen Ideen ich immer begeisterter geworden war."⁴⁹ While at Jena he wrote an article on Lagarde for Christoph Schrenpf's journal, Die Wahrheit.⁵⁰ In his book, Die neue Zeit und das neue Geschlecht,⁵¹

Lietz echoes Lagarde's call for an organization dedicated to the development of a "new man": "Heute ist es an der Zeit, Lagarde's Sehnsuchtswunsch zu erfüllen."⁵² Lietz also mentions Lagarde as among those

"highest and finest of the German spirit" whose works were most often read at the evening Kapelle.⁵³ Alfred Andreesen also saw traces of

Lagarde's influence of Lietz: "...dieser deutscheste der Theologen blieb bis an sein Lebensende sein Vorbild."⁵⁴ Lagarde's effect was also

→ seen in the schools. A. Hergert wrote that "Die deutsche Landerziehungsheime waren sicher im Sinne Lagardes."⁵⁵ And, finally, George Mosse, in his The Crisis of German Ideology, credits Lietz with the institutionalization of the "Germanic ideology" which Lagarde had fathered.⁵⁶

Paul de Lagarde was primarily a theologian and Old Testament scholar. His life's goal, which remained unfulfilled, was the production of an exhaustively critical edition of the Septuagint.⁵⁷ By means of such a study, he hoped to reveal the method and purpose of God's action among men.

Lagarde believed that much was to be learned about God and the relation of God and man from an historical-philological study of the ancient Hebrews and their religion. The history of the Hebrews affords a classical example...of how God relates himself to men through the nation.⁵⁸

In such a study history and philology were merged into theology. He believed that this method of investigation would result in a science of theology with principles as precise and compelling as those of Newton and Kepler.⁵⁹

Lagarde's studies in the Old Testament conditioned his attitudes towards his own era.⁶⁰ He had a great admiration for the ancient Hebrew people. In their history, culture and religion he found a paradigm of the correct relationship between God, nation and individual; a model which was to form the basis of his later criticism of modern Germany. Lagarde rejected, outright, the contention that divine revelation through history had ended in biblical times.⁶¹ God, rather, was vital and forever growing in and with the world's development. His revelations through the Hebrews had ended because the people had turned away from Him. The old, unmediated interaction between God and people, in the time of the prophets, had given way to "religiosity," to the ritual sterility of "legalistic" Judaism. This legalistic formalization of God's will was originally intended as a permanent bridge between Him and His people, but became, instead, an end in itself and a barrier to further development. Men began to follow the dogmatic teachings of the priests and ceased listening for God's commands. Jesus' mission, according to Lagarde, was to call the people back to their original, immediate relationship with God, back to radical obedience to his evolving will and away from the fossilized religiosity of Judaism. God demanded that the

people live His will--fulfill His developing purpose. The proper relationship of man to God was not contemplation or intellectual understanding, but active obedience.

The religious man...is one who not only strives to become better but must see to it that his life and the world around move together to a higher purpose. The religious man, in Lagarde's view, is a man of action.⁶²

Lagarde considered the German nation to be the modern equivalent of the ancient Hebrews. Like them, the Germans were an "original" people.

The great virtue of the Germans, Lagarde often pointed out, is that they are an "original folk"....The Germans have maintained through much of their history an intimate contact with the original and fundamental spiritual impulse out of which their nation arose and grew and which must always be the source of vitality for the nation.⁶³

Germany's mission, like that of the Hebrews earlier, was to be an example to the other nations of the world.⁶⁴ The nation, like the individual, was an organism created by God and infused with His will. The divine was present, therefore, in history as well as in nature. Each nation had its own special spiritual impulse, a Volksgeist, which gave to it a uniquely evolving form and destiny. To live in consonance with the dynamic plan inherent in this Volksgeist was to live in harmony with God's purpose for the world.

The folk spirit is a precious plant, it matures slowly, and only according to its own nature. It reveals itself through the folk in their sayings and legends, manners and morals. When the folk spirit fails the nation ceases to exist. The folk spirit gives the nation a certain timelessness by binding past to present but also, by binding present to future. The folk spirit demands that a people live for the future and not for the past. For the nation as a living thing must develop and progress, while preserving continuity with the past, look always to the future.⁶⁵

Man's possession of consciousness makes it possible for him to take an active, creative role in the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth.

But it also gives him the freedom to deny his ordained mission and seek after his own selfish goals, instead. When nations become so corrupted that they are in danger of losing contact with their own inner spiritual impulses, God lifts up prophets who speak from out of the heart of the people, from their Volksgeist, exhorting the nation to return to its own true path of development.

Lagarde saw himself as such a prophet. His mission was to lead his people back to an authentic spirituality and away from a dead, alien religiosity.

He unquestionably believed that his religious principles, in light of which he carried out his Zeitkritik, represented as much of divine truth as any human of his time might know. He felt, as he wrote to the Munich historian, Dollinger, that to carry out the great tasks of the Fatherland was to be about the Father's business....His description of Jesus was in some respects an autobiographical statement. The "old prophecy" arose again in Jesus, Lagarde wrote. Jesus was a "late bloom" of the spirit of old Israel. He came as a voice of opposition to the formalized "Jewishness" of his time. He came, as one who knew eternal truth, to recall the life close to God, which the Hebrews had once known. But he came also, Lagarde wrote, to proclaim the Kingdom of God over against the theocracy of the priests, against "the synagogue-state." Lagarde saw himself proclaiming the Kingdom of God in the face of what he believed a similar dessication of spirit in the state, church, and life of his own time.⁶⁶

Lagarde's message was directed primarily to his own nation. His nationalism, however, had little in common with the economic and political nationalism popular after the foundation of the Reich. His was derived from the idea of the nation inherent in the Old Testament, and was closer to Herder and Fichte than to Baron von Stumm-Halbach.⁶⁷ His nation was not determined by geography, race or language, but was a living essence, a spiritual-organic unity.⁶⁸ A people who did not possess this internal unity, but was joined, instead, by political,

economic or racial concerns, could not form a true nation and was, therefore, a passing, purely terrestrial phenomenon. Intrinsic to Lagarde's concept of nation was individuality. The institutions and culture of a nation had to be the natural products of its own unique spirit and its experiences in history. They should not have been borrowed from foreign peoples or deduced by reason. Although the principles of God's action in the world were universal, the existential shape in which these were actualized necessarily varied from age to age and culture to culture. Lagarde warned that "a folk which takes to itself too much that is foreign, risks disrupting its organic structure and hence its life."⁶⁹ The Christian universalization of God was not in itself false, but had been wrongly interpreted. Like Carlyle before him, Lagarde sought an even greater universalization: not only did God work in all nations--even the so-called heathen ones--but He was also active in all times. Lagarde's was not a tribal or national God. Rather, each nation actualized the one universal God in its own way. The Germans should not go seeking the Deity among the Hebrews or the Greeks, but should search out the will of God in their own time and nation. Indeed, he could not be found anywhere else. A truly German Christianity would not violate the fundamental principles of Jesus' teaching. The spirit would be the same, but its concretization would be different from that of other cultures and historical periods. The task for each nation and for every individual was to seek out God's will within and make it active without. An individual or a nation that lived according to another's dictates was pitifully, tragically alienated from their own spiritual impulses and no longer possessed an individual, God-given destiny.

Lagarde's cultural criticism was a logical consequence of his theological position. His Zeitkritik was the impassioned exhortation of a prophet to a nation gone astray. Modern Germany, he complained, sought power and wealth rather than the construction of God's Kingdom; her people followed the dictates of reason, utility and pleasure instead of the divine plan. Self-seeking, conformity and passivity were the distinguishing traits of the new nation. Physical unification had not brought with it a spiritual fusion of the people into true nationhood. The over-bureaucratization of the state had crushed out individuality. The criteria for advancement within the government apparatus were examinations and diplomas, which encouraged conformity, rather than accomplishment, which required individualization. The nation's culture had become overly refined and complex. It lay like a tough, green slime upon the spirit of the Volk, smothering originality. Foreign institutions and practices, like democracy and laissez-faire capitalism, had replaced the native German ideals of aristocracy, discipline and cooperation. An urban, industrial civilization threatened to make all peoples alike in their unrooted, shallow materialism. In addition, the Jewish domination of the press, theater and the law, had infused a foreign and sterile consciousness into the life of the nation.⁷⁰

Like Fichte, Lagarde called the nation to a spiritual rebirth.⁷¹ He urged those who had, themselves, been reborn, to unite in an effort to save Germany and Europe from spiritual death, through the creation of a new humanity.⁷² Lagarde's cultural criticism was directed at this goal, and reached into almost every corner of modern German life. It is not surprising that the German educational system was the target of some of his most cogent, bitter jeremiads.

Lagarde considered Johannes Schulze to have been one of the central figures in the corruption of German education. It was Schulze, he believed, who was responsible for instituting the ideal of "general education" in the German Gymnasium. This "Hegelian" approach to education attempted to teach the pupil something about everything, but ended, according to Lagarde, in teaching him a lot about nothing.⁷³ "Allgemeine Bildung" was a perversion of von Humboldt's ideal of education being the intense cultivation of one's own individuality.⁷⁴ Schulze's curriculum ignored, entirely, the pupil's need to develop personality. His aim of providing each student with as wide a range of knowledge as possible, had led, by mid-century, to the production of an arrogant and superficial "Bildungsbarbarei." Attempting to teach too much had also led to the much complained-of evil of "Überbürdung." The "over-burdened" Gymnasium student was damned to spending his entire youth cramming his head full of a potpourri of course material of little or no practical value. When this "general education" was combined with the "inexcusably erudite and stuffy lectures" of the typical Gymnasium professor, the result was a student with "...bad eyes, a yawning boredom with respect to everything in the past, and an incapacity to face the future."⁷⁵

Along with the criticism of the attempt to teach too much, Lagarde combined a castigation of the teaching of too many. Most students, perhaps as much as seventy percent of those attending the Gymnasium, were not seriously interested in personal development, but sought only the privileges attendant upon successful completion of the Untersekunda-- that is, the first six of the nine gymnasial years. These Brotstudenten

acted as a drag on the real scholars. They swelled the Gymnasium enrollment past the point where instruction was effective. Such pupils would have profited more from a practical education that fitted them to earn a living and contribute to the economic development of the nation, as they were not deeply committed to an intense intellectual life. Furthermore, the state should end almost all its involvement in education, and absolutely no privileges should be tied to successful school attendance. The entire system of examinations, which encouraged superficial knowledge, cramming, outlines, and mental conformity and passivity, must be discarded. The emphasis, instead, should be placed on character development, creativity, and completely individualized work.

Lagarde considered Gymnasium not only to be shallow, but also dull. The teachers should be enthusiastic and inspiring in their work. Those who were incapable of such should be taken out of the classroom and placed in research positions. He should not be an unapproachable idol, but personally involved in the lives and development of his pupils. His private life should be clean and pure. He should be an example of the highest idealism and selfless service to the nation. He should avoid beer halls, casinos and political clubs, spending his free hours in study, with his family and in nature.

Since most secondary schools were located in the cities, it was impossible to protect them from the decadence of the new Reich. Everywhere the pupil encountered the general collapse of morality and idealism, a cancerous commercial spirit, materialism, and democracy. Lagarde agreed with Fichte that the only solution was to remove the higher secondary schools from city to countryside, where the nation's youth

could grow strong and free, insulated from the corrupting influence of city and family.

III. RUDOLF EUCKEN

Eucken's philosophy was idealistic. He believed that the ultimate reality was spiritual and that the natural world had meaning only to the extent that it was tied to, and determined by, this higher sphere. It is no accident that his philosophy of the "spiritual life" often appears more like a theology. Although he had early in his life rejected a theological career and study as being too narrow, he was, throughout his life concerned with religious questions and their relation to modern life, particularly the life of the mind.⁷⁶

On the one hand I was overshadowed by the great problems of religion and the closely related problems of ethics. From this standpoint I endeavoured to secure a firm concentration of my efforts and my life. On the other hand, however, I felt the impulsive longing for the greater breadth and freedom of intellectual life: the thirst for clearer knowledge and for more artistic forms. The reconciling of these two impulses has been the chief task of my life.⁷⁷

Like Lietz, Rudolf Eucken had grown up in a religiously liberal atmosphere which rejected Lutheran dogmatism on the grounds that it failed to come to grips with the great problems of life.⁷⁸ Eventually, Eucken came to see the bridging of the gulf that separated religion and life, the spiritual world and the natural world, thought and action, as his special task. His system was to be both philosophy and theology, scientific in method and religious in its intent. In his book, The Problem of Human Life as Viewed by the Great Thinkers from Plato to the Present Time, for example, Eucken tried to reveal the unity that underlay all spiritual life, whether it be that of Plato, Jesus or Auguste Comte.⁷⁹

Eucken saw himself as involved in the same work as these great predecessors: the spiritualization of life.⁸⁰

Eucken's cosmological frame was dualistic, bordering on the radical dualism of Gnosticism. There was the natural world of flux below, dark, obscure and material; and above it a spiritual realm that was ordered, clear and eternal. The innate tendency of the natural world was to strive upwards towards the spiritual, to seek eternity, form, salvation from its meaninglessness. Man was born into this lower, natural world, but possessed in his soul the potentiality of a spiritual life, of entering into this transcendent sphere. Man was thus the bridge between the two worlds and had a central role in the great cosmic drama. It was through man, the mediator, that the world worked out its spiritualization.

Although man can participate in this spiritual realm, he cannot know it exactly or in its entirety. It remains beyond his greatest powers. There is a corresponding vagueness in Eucken's attempts at defining this absolute world.⁸¹ Man gains access to the eternal through the development of his own soul. The soul, however, is not to be equated with the intellect, nor the "spiritual life" with the life of the mind.

This absolute spiritual life which is thus immanent in man must not be identified with any partial aspect of human mentality, such as the intellect or will. Spiritual reality requires for its development all human faculties, which find their only true function in subserving this development, but it must not itself be compared with any faculty which has been evolved by humanity in the natural realm.⁸²

Through the development of his soul and the acquisition of a spiritual life, man evolves beyond the bonds of nature and, in his ability to oppose its drives, becomes free, independent. This independence achieves

self-consciousness in the creation of a consistent philosophy that is no longer subjectively rooted in the material world, but is objective, a growth downward out of the spiritual sphere, an ordering of the natural world according to the requirements of a higher reality. One cannot simply "know" this higher realm. This is the error of the lesser philosophers and the intellectualists. Rather, one must live the spiritual life. It is not something to be seen or thought, but something to do, to be realized. It is, therefore, through ethics that the dictates of the spiritual sphere are made active in this world. It is in the ethical life that man best fulfills his mediating role in the cosmic evolution of the universe.⁸³

The higher truth--the higher spiritual life---...It is only when this higher aspect of spiritual life becomes one's own life, and is acknowledged and used, that it is ever possible for man to become the possessor of an original energy, of an independent governing centre, and so to realize himself as a co-carrier of a cosmic movement.⁸⁴

Since the spiritual world, the goal of man's evolution, is radically different from the natural world, man must first oppose the world and his natural, lesser self to realize the higher life. Impulses and passions, the chase after pleasure and the instinctual avoidance of pain, the selfish narrowness of the animal self, must all be thrust away from the center to the periphery of one's life. The main object in life becomes the planting of oneself firmly in the spiritual realm and a vigilant combating of the desires of the flesh, which constantly threaten to drag one backwards into the morass of the finite world.

The process of forcing an entrance into this overworld has to be repeated time after time. There are no enemies in front, but the man is surrounded by them from around and behind him. The indifference, in a large measure of the natural process, the rigid instincts of mere self-preservation, the temptation to smugness

and ease, the cold conclusions of the understanding when satisfied with explanations from the physical world, the hardness of the heart--these and many other enemies fight for supremacy, and the soul is often torn in the struggle. The struggle continues for a great length of time; but the history of the world testifies to an innumerable host of individuals who scaled and fell, who started again and again, until at last their conception of the Highest Good became a permanent experience and possession of their deepest being.⁸⁵

It is this dualistic conception of the world and the higher life, and the necessity of self-denial and Selbstüberwindung, that lies at the basis of Eucken's and Lietz's asceticism. The Gnostic elements of such a cosmology are obvious, as are its connections to medieval Christianity and the legends of the Grail quest. It is not unimportant that Lietz was later to adopt the figure of Parzifal as the ideal of the Land-erziehungsheime, for the goal of its education was religious: spiritual growth, the ethical life, the union of the divine and the worldly.⁸⁶

Eucken believed that the spiritual life was more easily attainable in some cultures and ages than in others. During the Middle Ages, for example, men were aided in the quest by the institutionalization of world and self-denial in the church. The whole culture was permeated with the knowledge that the world was not the goal, but only a prelude and obstacle to a higher life. This was no longer so. The rise of science and positivistic philosophy, the phenomenal growth in Europe's wealth and power, the materialistic quality of urban and industrial life, had combined to entangle modern man inextricably in the external world. Not only did philosophy deny the existence of a spiritual world, but even religion itself had become worldly, or social, in its aim. In their quest to conquer suffering and spread the benefits of modern civilization, men had forgotten the higher truth that "Not suffering,

but spiritual destitution is man's worst enemy."⁸⁷ Modern life had grown in richness and complexity, yet it lacked inner-connection, spiritual force, and a goal beyond itself. Although European man stood at the pinnacle of power, he had lost the spiritual foundations of his life and was in the gravest peril.

...after all the weary work of many thousand years, we are today in a condition of painful uncertainty, a state of hopeless fluctuation, not merely with regard to individual questions, but also as to the general purpose and meaning of life....The old foundations of life have been shaken and the new ones are not yet sufficiently established. Whereas the struggle used to rage round and about such central facts as morality and religion, their basis and their precise signification, now to an ever-increasing extent the facts themselves are questioned; doubt arises as to whether they can really be affirmed as facts at all.⁸⁸

Although Eucken was a German patriot, he was also a harsh critic of the Empire. He thought a philosopher's primary responsibility was to act as a moral and religious critic of his age.⁸⁹ In contrast to the idealism, individualism and freedom of Germans in the time of Kant and Goethe, the Empire had brought with it a decided narrowing of national life and an impoverishment of its spiritual heritage.

One could recognize a pronounced narrowness: a political development, on the one hand, which made the government the center of gravity of all action and gave little play to the independence of the people, and on the other hand, a rapid evolution of economic interests, which assumed an ever-increasing importance. Great things were done on both sides, but life was wholly taken up with these enterprises. There was no clear understanding of the problems and conflicts of modern life. The main feature of the time was an unrestricted affirmation of life. Material existence increasingly absorbed all the available energy, and there was an unmistakable insincerity in the general profession of a belief in the spiritual world and a religion of a Christian complexion....In sum, though on the surface all seemed well, it was impossible not to notice a marked externalization and emptiness of life.⁹⁰

In place of the complete man of the period of German classicism, the Empire produced specialists and technicians. The mechanism and frantic

pace of modern life had produced a humanity and culture of shallow uniformity. One found "great workers, but ... superficial men."⁹¹ The devotion to personal cultivation, the quest for Truth, Goodness and Beauty had given way to a culture of work that worshipped success.

The century (the 19th) had found its true greatness in work....In proportion as the work became more complicated and differentiated, and more rapid in its processes, did the individual tend to become a mere inept feature in a soulless routine: his sphere of expression grew more and more restricted, his connection with the system more and more binding. The whole care being bestowed upon outward results, the inner life was starved and all its energies contracted.
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One no longer encountered the "striking personalities" of earlier times. Modern life produced, instead, partial men, highly developed in one area, but weak in all others. This fragmentation of life, the lost spiritual unity, led ultimately to dehumanization. Men had become the tools of an impersonal mechanism whose sole purpose was its own perpetuation.

...(we have become) the mere tools and instruments of an impersonal civilization which first uses and then forsakes us, the victims of a power (mechanism) as pitiless as it is inhuman, which rides roughshod over nations and individuals alike, ruthless of life or death, knowing neither plan nor reason, void of all love or care for man.⁹³

The domination of science had caused men to lose sight of their special place in the great cosmic drama. Instead of perceiving reality with the heart, spirit, senses and reason--his full being--man had rejected those dimensions of experience that were not amenable to rational analysis. Science had usurped the place of religion and philosophy by attempting to give a meaning to life. Its materialistic premises, however, made such an attempt unfruitful and incapable of satisfying man's deepest spiritual needs.⁹⁴

Eucken was aware of Germany's social problems. Like Lietz, he had once considered associating himself with the socialists, but was repelled by the radical materialism of the Social Democrats.⁹⁵

I very seriously considered whether I ought not to devote myself chiefly to social problems, and seek some connection - of a free character - with Socialism. Such questions had engaged my attention from very early years. I read and reflected much on them, and they seemed to me to be intimately connected with the much-needed renovation of mankind which always held the first place in my mind. Very soon, however, I saw that it was impossible to do this; I was repelled by the flatly negative and Positivist tendency of the socialist leaders. To follow in the steps of Feuerbach and Marx was for me a psychic and scientific impossibility.⁹⁶

Eucken considered Social Democracy to be an amalgamation of three separate movements: the "democratic," "economic," and "political" movements. Although he was not opposed to "spiritual" democracy, he rejected the "humanistic, utilitarian" variant of the socialists. He was vehemently opposed to an economic materialism that derived moral and spiritual values from economic relationships. He also rejected the "state worship" of the socialists as a danger to individual freedom, and perceived a contradiction in their advocacy of both state power and individual freedom.⁹⁷ In brief, Eucken accused Social Democracy of focusing only on the "problem of man" and ignoring entirely the "problem of the spirit." He conceived the great task of the future to be the reconciliation of these two great forces.

A heavy task confronts us. There will be no issue from our present confusion until we succeed in bringing together once more the two great problems of our time. We have to combine the problem of spirit and the problem of man and help them to fruitful cooperation. The problem of spirit must come first, but man has his rights; and our fate will be decided according as we do or do not find the means of this adjustment.⁹⁸

CHAPTER IV

THE LANDERZIEHUNGSHEIME

I. LIETZ'S MOTIVES

Lietz often mentioned that the sources for, and purposes of, the Landerziehungsheime grew naturally out of his own experiences as Gymnasium and university student and teacher. It was his unhappy Gymnasium experience, in particular, which supplied the concrete basis for his criticism of the Prussian Gymnasium and inspired his attempt to establish an alternative kind of secondary education.

Am eigenen Leibe hatte ich als Schüler erfahren, dass das übliche Leben und Arbeiten in der Stadt Gesundheit und Willenskraft der vom Elternhause fernen Kinder schwäche und gefährde; dass dagegen Aufenthalt und Arbeit auf dem Lande in den Ferien Körper und Geist gesund und leistungsfähig erhalte und reinere Freude schaffe. Diese Kindheitserfahrungen wurden und bleiben für mich ausschlaggebend. In den ersten Jahren meiner Arbeit als Erzieher bestätigten sie sich mir.¹

He did not want simply to be a teacher. His own school experience had made this an impossibility. He viewed the typical Lehrer as a "...abhängiger, unselbständiger Staatsbeamter mit dem hehren Ziel fester Anstellung und Pensionsberechtigung!"² He was a slave of a school system with which he was not in agreement. Lietz, instead, wanted to be a "helper of youth."

Ein Helfer besonders derer, die der Hilfe am meisten bedurften, die Vater oder Mutter oder beide während der Schulzeit entbehren mussten, wie's mir als Jungen ergangen war.³

The immediate purpose of the Landerziehungsheime was not to be the realization of the ideal education, for, like Pestalozzi, Lietz considered the family to be the best possible environment for true Erziehung.

Rather, it was to be a substitute family circle for boys who, for some reason, could not be reared at home.

Niemals hatte ich bezweifelt, dass die Eltern vor allen andern zur Erziehung ihrer Kinder berechtigt and verpflichtet sind; niemals auch, dass die Familie des Elternhauses an sich auch der günstigste Schauplatz für die heranwachsenden Kinder ist. Wie steht's aber, wenn Vater oder Mutter oder beide tot sind, oder wenn sie an Plätzen wohnen, die der Gesundheit schwächerer Kinder unzutraglich oder an denen überhaupt keine höheren Schulen sind? Wie, wenn Eltern mit den benachbarten oder bestehenden Schulen überhaupt unzufrieden sind? Wie, wenn es sich für Deutsche im Ausland darum handelt, ihre Kinder in der alten Heimat wieder mit Sprache, Land und Art der Vorfahren vertraut zu machen? Für diese und ähnliche zahlreiche Fälle wollten und wollen die Heime das Beispiel einer Ergänzung oder eines Ersatzes fürs Elternhaus schaffen, wollen zeigen, dass und wie gerade auch für diese Kinder gesorgt werden kann und muss, wo und wie auch sie zu tüchtigen Gliedern des Vaterlandes heranwachsen können.⁴

A second reason for the creation of the Landerziehungsheime, was that it offered a direct and simple solution to Lietz's desire to be both a "helper of youth" and a farmer living independently on his own land. Gustav Wyneken, in an important (though often biased) essay on his work with Lietz in the early days at Ilseburg and Haubinda, calls attention to this aspect of the motivation behind the founding of the schools. Wyneken's view deserves extensive quotation:

Ein kluger Mann in seinem Lehrerkollegium sagte einmal von Lietz, er habe eigentlich nur dreierlei gelernt: die Ideologie des V.D. St. ("Verein Deutscher Studenten," deutsch-national, christlich-sozial und antisemitisch), die liberale Theologie und die Reinsche Pädagogik umschrieben seinen geistigen Horizont. Daran ist leider viel Wahres, aber es trifft nicht den eigentlichen Kern seines Wesens. Im Kern seines Wesens war er etwas, was sich nicht lernen lässt: ein Bauer; mehr Bauer als mancher moderne Bauer von Beruf. Seine "Mentalität" war durchaus - wie soll man sagen? - nicht bürgerlich und auch nicht bäuerlich, sondern bauerhaft. Seine echte Verbundenheit mit der Scholle, das sich deutlich bekundende Gefühl der Überlegenheit des Landbewohners über den Städter, die ironische Einstellung zu städtischem Leben und städtischen Wertungen, ein Einschlag von Bauernschlauheit und Bauernvorsicht - das alles lag ihm im Blut. Er wusste dem in seinen frühen Programmen nicht anders

Ausdruck zu geben als in der Forderung eines natürlichen, naturgemässen Lebens im Sinne der "Lebensreform." Aber solche Begriffe sind, mit Schiller zu sprechen "sentimentalische" Ideen, Denkerzeugnisse einer ihrer selbst überdrüssig gewordenen Zivilisation. Lietz wollte kein "Zurück" zur Natur, sondern ihn verlangte es, in seiner ihm angeborernen Natur und ihren Lebensbedingungen verharren zu können und den von ihm erwählten Beruf mit solcher Lebensform zu verbinden. Das ist die eine starke Triebkraft seiner Gründung. Sie war nicht die einzige und nicht einmal die wichtigste...⁵

The third purpose of the Landerziehungsheime, and perhaps the most important, was the positive role it was to play in the spiritual rebirth (national-ethischer Erneuerung) of the German nation. Lietz feared that Germany, along with the rest of western civilization, was drifting ever more rapidly into national and cultural decline. "Überschätzung und einseitige Pflege äusserer Güter, der Macht, des Genusses, des Ansehens; Unterschätzung der geistig-seelischen, der religiös-sittlichen Werte" had determined the approaching collapse.⁶ As with Rome, centuries before, the denial of national and spiritual values had led to a degeneration of German society:

Der Anblick ungeheuer sittlicher und sozialer Nöte erfüllten die Herzen der Ernsten seit langem mit Sorge und Kummer: Verwahrlosung der Massen, insonderheit der halbwüchsigen, Veräusserlichung und Verrohung der Volksunterhaltung in Wort, Schrift, Bild, Verführungen jeder Art. Die Überhandnahme der Unzucht, die Ertötung des keimenden Lebens, die Abnahme der Geburten, die Lockerung der Ehe, die Zerstörung des Familienlebens, des Heims, das Wohnungselend und vieles andere. Jedes Patrioten Herz blutete angesichts dieser Tatsachen.⁷

Germany's condition was not, however, without hope. The turn of the century had brought with it an earnest searching after spiritual values which seemed to indicate that the materialistic Weltanschauung, which had dominated the last half of the nineteenth century, had been found to be worthless.⁸ Furthermore, the Reformation, the cultural-spiritual renaissance of the Enlightenment, and the Nationalerhebung

against Napoleon, all demonstrated that Germany could overcome such a crisis and achieve national and spiritual renewal.⁹ Such a "religiöse-sittliche Neugeburt des Volkes," and with it "die Befreiung der Welt von dem Fluche der Heuchelei und Lüge, von den Ketten des Kapitalismus und der unbezähmbaren Herrschsucht," was Germany's task and the greatest service she could render the rest of the world, to which she would be an example.¹⁰

The first step on the quest for Germany's rebirth, according to Lietz, had to be the creation of a "new man" (neues Geschlecht), who would embody the new spiritual life. "Wenn nicht ein neues Geschlecht echter Führer, ein neuer Geist entsteht und mit ihm neues Leben aus den Trümmern, dann ist Deutschlands Kraft und Grösse für immer dahin."

¹¹ This "new man" was to be a harmonious personality whose every ability and faculty was developed; who was to be intellectual as well as active; as strong of body as of mind; as much an idealist as realist. Out of such men would grow a new society which would overcome, in a higher synthesis, the class and spiritual divisions of the nineteenth century.

Like Fichte, Lietz believed that a system of national education could create this new humanity. A new Volkserziehung would elevate man "...von der Stufe des stumpfen Lasttiers zu der eines freien, sittlichen, geistigen Lebens..."¹² National rebirth was dependent upon the creation of a new German spirit by means of a reformed education.

Wenn aber jedes Kulturvolk, das seinen Platz behaupten will, wenigstens im Lauf eines jeden Jahrhunderts dringend nötig hat, sich emporreissen zu lassen zu national-ethischer Erneuerung, und wenn diese in der Hauptsache stets nur durch eine den Zeitaufgaben gemässe Erziehung des jugendlichen Geschlechts

herbeigeführt werden kann, so gilt dies alles sicherlich für unsere Zeit und unser Volk ganz besonders. Die Schulreform ist darum eine seiner dringendsten Aufgaben.¹³

The Landerziehungsheime was to be one of the birthplaces of the new race. In his schools, boys were to be educated to:

...harmonischen, selbständigen Charakteren...zu deutschen Junglingen, die an Lieb und Seele gesund und stark, die praktisch, wissenschaftlich und künstlerisch tüchtig sind, die klar und scharf denken, warm empfinden, stark wollen.¹⁴

It would be an education for full manhood, to unity of mind and body, intellect and will. It would solve, for the first time, the great mystery of the rise and fall of civilizations, and in so doing, preserve Germany from her own incipient decline.

Die Devise der Erziehungsschule lautet: Mens sana in corpore sano. - Hannibals Truppen verweichlichten in Apulien, die alten Vandalen in Afrika, die Normanen in Unteritalien, die Ritter- und Mönchsorden in ihren Ordensburgen und Klöstern: die Erziehungsschule - und zwar die militärische mit eingeschlossen - will das erreichen, was Hannibal, was Geilamir, was dem Normannenkönig Wilhelm II., was Ordensmeistern und Äbten nicht gelang. Sie will die grossen, wertvollen Kulturgüter sich und damit dem Volk zu eigen machen und dabei doch so stark bleiben und die Nation so stark erhalten, wie es sonst nur "Naturvölker" sind.¹⁵

II. LIETZ'S EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES

Education as Religious-Ethical Development

Lietz agreed with Fichte, Herbart, Eucken and Rein, that the end of education was not knowledge, nor even worldly success, but rather the religious-ethical development of the child. Particularly with the cultivation of the mind, wrote Lietz, "...darf nicht Gelehrsamkeit, sondern, wie nach anderen Vorgängern die Herbartsche Schule mit Recht betont, nur Stärkung des sittlichen Characters das Ziel sein."¹⁶ If moral development

is to be the goal, so must it also be the basis of entire educational experience at the Landerziehungsheime: "Ohne ganz starke ethisch-religiöse Basis ist die ganze Jugenderziehung rein nichts."¹⁷ Somewhat after the fashion of Eucken, Lietz found this religious basis in German idealism: "Mein Bekenntnis und Glaube...ist die Welt und Lebensauffassung des deutschen Idealismus."¹⁸ An education that was not animated throughout by a living idealism was worthless.

Erziehung die nicht auf den Idealismus sich gründet, auf den Glauben an die Menschheit, auf die Gute der Menschennatur, auf die unbedingte Notwendigkeit des Selbstlosen Thuns des Guten, auf den Sieg dieses Guten: ist wertlos.¹⁹

Lietz believed Jesus to have been the perfect embodiment of the ideal form of humanity. He rejected outright, however, Paul's vision of Jesus as being a divine messenger, a god. Jesus was "...ein hoch über uns alle ragender sittlich-religiöser Held, Prophet und Führer zum Ideal..."²⁰ The aim of all education, then, was the formation of "Christ-like" men.²¹ The ideal man was a thoroughly religious man, as had been Jesus and the Old Testament prophets. He sought an unmediated connection with the divine:

Der religiöse Mensch sucht zu einer inneren unmittelbaren Beziehung zum All, zum Universum, zu der höchsten Kraft und Macht, die ihn umgibt und erhält und der er sein Dasein verdankt, zu gelangen.²²

Each person had to seek his own direct pathway to God, unhampered by dogma and ceremonials. This path was not through the intellect, but the heart.²³ To Andreesen, Lietz had achieved this union, had become a living example of the Christian life:

Wenn von Lietz gerühmt wurde, dass er von erfrischender Unmittelbarkeit war und allen als ein Mensch erschien, der "Vollmacht" hatte von Gott, so eben deswegen, weil er nicht aus dem Intellekt

heraus lebte, sondern aus einer tiefen Gläubigkeit.²⁴

The spiritual life could not be taught, but had to be lived. The place of religion, like God, was not in dogmas or beliefs, but in one's daily activities. "Wir suchen Religion nicht vorzulehren, sondern vor- und mitzuleben," wrote Lietz in Emlohstobba.²⁵ Ludwig Wunder, an early colleague of Lietz's, related that practical work was often done on Sundays. Lietz, he said, would look at his working students "mit glänzenden Augen," and say: "'Das ist auch Gottesdienst und wohl eine bessere Sonntagsfeier als heimlich rauchen und kneipen.'"²⁶

Like Lagarde and Carlyle, Lietz did not believe that God's revelation had been confined to the Jews, but was continuous in all times and peoples:

Hüten müsst Ihr euch...davor, "Offenbarung" nur bei den Israeliten der alten Zeit und nur in der Bibel zu suchen. Erhebendes, Vertiefendes, Frömmen- und Bessermachendes konnt Ihr sowohl in der Bibel, als auch in den Werken und Taten der Grossen, der Guten, der in Wahrheit Auserwählten aller Zeiten und Völker finden...²⁷

Jesus and the Old Testament prophets, then, were not the only ideal personalities upon which the Charaktererziehung of the Landerziehungsheime were modeled. In addition to men like Confucius, Buddha, Socrates, Plato, Dante, Huss, Carlyle and others of international spiritual stature, Germany had her own prophets who had mediated God's universal ideal into a specific national reality.

An Stelle des paulinisch-judischen Christentums sollte doch die Botschaft Jesus nach den vier Evangelien und die germanisch-deutsche Auffassung dieser Verkündigung bei unseren besten Propheten vom Heliandsänger bis J. G. Fichte, P. de Lagarde und R. Eucken treten.²⁸

Character Development

Lietz considered the main purpose of the school to be character development within this nationalized universal mold.

Es darf...nicht vergessen werden, dass alle Erziehung schliesslich Selbsterziehung zum sittlichen Charakter ist, welche der eigenen Vervollkommenheit sowie der des Menschengeschlechts dient.²⁹

His criticism of the typical Gymnasium of his own day, which he termed Unterrichtsschule ("instruction school"), centered about its failure to develop the individuality, the character of its students. "Der Hauptzweck, der den meisten Schülern, wie Lehrern vorschwebt, ist nicht Bildung von Charakterstärke, sondern glückliches Bestehen des Examens."³⁰ While this Unterrichtsschule provided only skills and diplomas, Lietz's Erziehungsschule would develop all facets of the personality into a harmonious unity. In his survey of German experimental schools, Fritz Karsen has given a description of Lietz's ideal personality:

Er sieht sie begabt mit einem starken, durch ständige körperliche Anstrengung und Übung gewandten Körper, mit einem vor keiner Gefahr zurückschreckenden Mut, vor allem mit dem höchsten Mut zur unbedingten Wahrhaftigkeit; sie ist nicht selbstherrlich, zugellos in ihrer Starke, sondern voller Selbstbeherrschung, da sie gegründet ist in tieferen Welten, in denen der Religion und des Volkstums, zwei Welten, die - freilich nicht in enger konfessioneller oder staatlicher Gebundenheit - unbedingte Hingabe verlangen; sie ist ein deutscher Charakter.³¹

The key to the rise and fall of nations lay not with knowledge, but with the character and the will. With an eye towards the typical Gymnasium, Lietz asks: "Siegten den alten Germanen über die Römer, vernichteten sie das römische Weltreich, weil sie gelehrter waren, als die Römer?"³² It is not knowledge or skills, but the free, ethical will that subdues the material

world and rises above it. "Der freie Wille ist's, den die Erziehungsschule zum Hebel macht, der alle Schwierigkeiten der Welt überwindet."³³

Union of Body and Spirit

Similar to Eucken, Lietz saw the task of modern man to be the synthesis of the ideal and the real, of spirit and body. In primitive man, body and spirit had been joined in an unconscious unity. Christianity had separated these and lifted mind to a higher plane, above the limit and flux of the material world. It remained for his age to consciously reunite matter and spirit at this higher level.³⁴ The mind could no longer be considered alone, as if it existed apart from the body.

Der Mensch lebt weder vom Brot allein, noch ist er bloss
Bürger einer anderen Welt. Leib sowohl wie Geist, Körper
wie Seele, Materielles und Ideales wollen in ihm zu ihrem
Recht gelangen. Keines von beiden darf verkannt werden
und zu kurz kommen, beides ist und bleibt voneinander abhängig.³⁵

This dualistic, "medieval" view of man had contributed to the growth of a social system which falsely divided labor into physical and mental branches, as though some men had bodies without minds, and others brains without bodies.³⁶ This error had become entrenched in the educational system as well, producing, through the Gymnasium, one-sided men of brilliant intellects, but wasted bodies and weak wills. The Gymnasium fed the mind richly, but starved all other parts of the personality.

Warum behandelt man ihn [the pupil] so, als wenn er nur ein
Kopf wäre, nur Gehirn hätte, aber keine Hände und Arme, Beine,
Augen, Ohren und vor allem kein Herz? Er sehnt sich ja nach
Handarbeit, nach Spiel, nach Anschauung, nach Kunstausbübung, nach
Kameraden, nach Liebe.³⁷

Physical exercise and development were almost totally ignored. Lietz

mentions in Emlohstobba that "Der Lauf der Knaben in vielen Turnhallen erinnert mich ausserordentlich an den, welchen ich in Gefangenen und Zuchthäusern gesehen hatte."³⁸

Following Pestalozzi, the Landerziehungsheime sought to provide an education which would have the harmonious, unified man and society as its starting point and its goal.

Denn in der Kunst dieser Verbindung von körperlicher und geistiger Tätigkeit, von Werkstatte bzw. Natur und Schulstube, besteht das ganze Geheimnis der Erziehung. Hier liegt das grosste padagogische Problem.³⁹

The class divisions of modern Germany, the luxury and ostentation of the idle rich, the misery and deprivation of the working classes; the cynical manipulation and exploitation of the poor by the wealthy, as well as the ominous rise of Social Democracy, based, as it was, on a radical materialism, were, to Lietz, the legitimate offspring of an antiquated and erroneous dualistic Weltanschauung. The solution to this social crisis did not lie in a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and a one-sided materialism, but in a new education which would produce new men who embodied a world-view in which the dualities of the old society would be overcome in a higher synthesis.

Diese Schule der Zukunft wird dann auch die körperliche Arbeit zu Ehren bringen. Sie wird von jedem Schüler fordern und jedem Gelegenheit geben, dass er wenigstens ein Handwerk erlerne. Damit wird sie zugleich aufräumen mit den Hirngespinnsten verknöchelter Büchermenschen, die weder Welt noch Leben kennen. Sie wird die Kluft überbrücken, die mehr als alles andere die Volks- und Menschheitsgenossen voneinander trennt, die körperliche Arbeit der Jugend ist zugleich ein vortreffliches Erziehungsmittel zu Energie und Ausdauer. Sie kräftigt und gesundet Körper wie Geist der Jugend und bestetigt gründlich Hochmut, Geckentum, Blasiertheit, Weltfremdheit.⁴⁰

The reconciliation of the classes would not come about until the educated overcame their fear and contempt for physical work, and the working

classes began to enjoy the fruits of culture.

Wer nicht im Schweisse seines Angesichts wennmöglich Schulter an Schulter mit Handarbeitern körperliche Arbeit zu leisten gelernt hat, dem wird die Welt der Mehrzahl seiner Volksgenossen unverständlich bleiben. Das gegenseitige Verständnis und mit ihm der soziale Friede zwischen "Handarbeitern" und Gebildeten" werden nur dann kommen, wenn auch die Kinder der "Vornehmsten" vor keiner Handarbeit zurückschrecken, und die Handarbeiter Anteil bekommen and den wahren geistigen Bildungsmitteln der Nation.⁴¹

A Modern, National Education

At the school conference of December, 1890, Wilhelm II shocked the academic world with an opening speech that condemned the secondary school system as being antiquated, foreign to life, and unnational.

In part, he said:

The main trouble lies in the fact that since 1870 the philologists have sat in their Gymnasien as beati possidentes, laying main stress upon the subject-matter, upon the learning and the knowing, but not upon the formation of character and the needs of life. Less emphasis is being placed upon practice than theory, a fact that can easily be verified by looking at the requirements for the examinations. Their underlying principle is that the pupil must, first of all, know as many things as possible. Whether this knowledge fits for life or not is immaterial. If anyone enters into a discussion with these gentlemen on this point and attempts to show them that a young man ought to be prepared, to some extent at least, for life and its manifold problems, they will tell him that such is not the function of the school, its principal aim being the discipline or gymnastic of the mind, and that if this gymnastic were properly conducted the young man would be capable of doing all that is necessary in life. I am of the opinion that we can no longer be guided by this doctrine....Whoever has been a pupil of a Gymnasium himself, and has looked behind the scenes, knows where the wrong lies. First of all a national basis is wanting. The foundation of our Gymnasium must be German. It is our duty to educate men to become young Germans, and not young Greeks and Romans. We must relinquish the basis which has been the rule for centuries, the old monastic education of the Middle Ages, when Latin and a little Greek were most important. These are no longer our standard; we must make German the basis, and German composition must be made the centre around which everything else revolves.⁴²

Lietz agreed with this criticism. In 1897 he sent the Emperor a copy of Emlohstobba via the Kultusminister, which the latter returned to Lietz with a note stating "Zur Überreichung an Se. Majestat nicht geeignet." "Vergebens," wrote Lietz in his Lebenserinnerungen, "suchte ich ihm zu zeigen, dass Emlohstobba sehr wohl geeignet sei, vom Kaiser gelesen zu werden, da er ja wiederholt sein Interesse für die Schulreform bekundet hatte und manches auch wollte, wofür gerade mein Buch eintrat."⁴³ In his book, Lietz criticizes the pedantry of the "Unterrichtsschule," its foreignness to life and nation, which made heavy irony out of the classical Gymnasium's motto: Non scholae sed vitae, which should actually have read: Non vitae sed scholae discimus. Agreeing with Wilhelm II, Lietz wrote that the prerequisite for an improvement in the Gymnasium lay in not only an "...energischen Beschränkung der antiken Sprachen im Unterricht, sondern zugleich in der Herstellung einer Einheit im Lehrplan, welche fürs moderne nationale Leben passt."⁴⁴

Lietz echoed the common cry of his day, that the curriculum was "overburdened" with material of little practical value for the average student. Too much time was devoted to dead languages and mathematics, and not enough given to the contemporary world.

...glaubt wirklich jemand, dass es nötiger für den Schüler sie zu wissen, was Cicero in seiner ersten katilinarischen Rede sagte, und schöne Phrasen nach Molières Stücken zu bilden, als sich einige Klarheit über die grossen religiösen und sittlichen Fragen zu verschaffen?⁴⁵

In his Lebenserinnerungen, Lietz complains of the dry pedantry and foreignness to life of the Gymnasium curriculum.

Was erfuhren wir von euch, erlebten wir unter euch von Kunst? Was von Dante, Michelangelo, Beethoven, Mozart? Ein halbes Jahr lang lasen wir Lessings Laokoon. Eine Nachbildung der

Statue oder auch nun deren Abbildung wurde uns nie gezeigt. Zeichenunterricht hatte die meisten von uns nur in Sexta. Sorgfältig schien man es zu vermeiden die Gegenwart und die jüngere Vergangenheit zu berühren; sorgfältig auch jemals einen wärmeren Ton anzuschlagen, gefühle zu zeigen. In den Geschichte kamen wir bis zu den Freiheitskriegen. Im Deutschen bis Goethe. Die Welt nach beiden, auch den grossten aller Zeitgenossen, Otto von Bismarck, mussten wir erst im Leben oder auf der Hochschule staunenden Auges entdecken....Äschylus die griechischen Lyriker, plastische lebensvolle Helden gestalten aus alten Zeiten suchten und fanden wir erst später. Aber Formen wie "pello, pepuli, pulsum, pellere" oder Regeln wie "geduldig, kundig, eingedenk, teilhaftig, mächtig, voll..." wollen und werden aus jenen Zeit dem Gedächtnis nicht wieder entswinden. Wie staunte ich, als...ich die ersten Vorlesungen bedeutender Lehrer besuchte! Ja, jetzt erst erfuhr ich's, was Geschichte, was Wissenschaft, was Geistesleben der Gegenwart, was Schönheit sei.⁴⁶

Lietz also agreed with Wilhelm II that the basis of the curriculum must be national as well as modern. He believed that all great cultural achievements of the past were the product of an intense concentration of national energy, and that no creation of eternal value was possible without the presence of national feeling, consciousness and will.⁴⁷ Religion should be taught to children through the sagas and tales of German history, as well as the Bible.

Lietz considered the greatest corrupter of education in Germany, and the greatest obstacle to reform, to be the existence of the Ein-jährige and Abiturienten examinations, which were long the only avenues to civil service, university and other state privileges. In his essay "Schulreform und Schulprüfung," Lietz quotes from Bismarck:

Wir gehen an den Examina zu Grunde; die meisten, welche sie bestehen, sind dann so abgewirtschaftet, dass sie irgend einer Initiative unfähig sind, sich gegen alles, was an sie herankommt, möglichst ablehnend verhalten.⁴⁸

The existence of exams kills originality in teaching and takes the

pleasure out of learning. They result in superficial "outline" knowledge, rote memorization, Latin essays, "Paukereit," and cheating. They turn schools into "Pressen," into Lernkasernen. These rigorous exams have been responsible for suicides of schoolboys to whom failure meant, as it did for Stefan Zweig, a fall back into the proletariat.

Noch als Gymnasiasten wurde uns, wenn wir eine schlechte Note in irgendeinem nebensächlichen Gegenstand nach Hause brachten, gedroht, man werde uns aus der Schule nehmen und ein Handwerk lernen lassen - die schlimmste Drohung, die es in der bürgerlichen Welt gab: der Rückfall ins Proletariat...⁴⁹

Schweitzer's experience of the matriculation examination was certainly typical for many who took it:

He the examiner in Greek was especially annoyed that I was unable to give him any accurate information about the way they beached ships, as described by Homer, and as the other candidates knew very little more about it than I did, he denounced our ignorance as a serious defect in our culture. For my part I thought it a far greater defect in our culture that we were leaving the Gymnasium without knowing anything about astronomy or geology.⁵⁰

→ In Die Deutsche Nationalschule, Lietz urges that promotions be based upon the development of the powers of observation, thought, and judgement, as well as the ability to work.

The School Community

→ Lietz believed the ideal environment for Erziehung, after the family, to be

...ein Heim...in dem jede Rücksicht auf Examina, offizielle Lehrpläne, Berechtigungen fortfällt und (in welchem) in der einen Tageshälfte wirkliche körperliche, praktische Arbeit getan wird, auf einem Bauerngut, (wo) alles von uns selbst gemacht, gebaut wird,...und die Kinder werde ich mir z.T. von den Strassen holen....Das kann und will ich durchsetzen....Es sind die alten Pläne Pestalozzis, Booker-Washingtons und auch seit langem die meinigen - war meine ursprüngliche Absicht, von der ich abgedrängt bin durch Konzessionen, die durch Elternangst bedingt waren.⁵¹

This educational community would be located in the country, and be a microcosm of the larger society, yet purged of its corruption and vice. It would be a realization of Fichte's Schulstaat, although Meissner warns against the too free use of this term.

Vielleicht musste man, um Lietz' Ansicht genau wiederzugeben, das Wort "Staat" vermeiden. Er gebrauchte es nie. Die Schule ist eine Gemeinschaft Gleichgestimmter - also eher ein Orden als ein Staat. Auch diesen Begriff verwendet er natürlich nicht, aber ich vermüte doch, dass seine eigentliche Konzeption dem nahe kommt.⁵²

Within the school community all would be equal. In a sense it would be an extended family with Lietz filling the role of patriarch. In contrast to the distance and formality that characterized the teacher-pupil relations of the Gymnasium, in the Landerziehungsheim the teacher would be the student's friend, confidant and adviser.⁵³ The atmosphere must be one of friendship, love and warmth joined to a lofty idealism. In this community, the students would administer their own affairs within the limits set by Lietz, allowing them a civic training commensurate with life in a constitutional monarchy, Lietz's ideal form of government. As a member of an organic community each student would learn self-discipline, obedience, loyalty and a sense of duty to the whole.

Im Gegensatz zu der alten Autoritätsschule sind von "modernen" Seite Autorität und Entscheidungsrecht der "Schulgemeinde" und ihrer Vertreter betont worden. Dem Wesen der Landerziehungsheime entspricht weder die eine noch die andere Richtung. Ehrfurcht, Achtung und Gehorsam sind die Grundlage aller Erziehung, die dem Einzelnen und der Volksgemeinschaft dienen will. Ohne die Fähigkeit und den Willen aller zu Gehorchen, kann kein Gemeinwesen bestehen. Gehorchen fällt keinem leicht, besonders wenn die eigene Neigung und der Wille des Ganzen, wie er sich im echten Führer verkörpert, in Gegensatz kommen. Darum muss es erlernt werden, und zwar von früh auf; sonst ist's zu spät.⁵⁴

Also:

Jeder sollte Gehorchen lernen, auf Eigenwillen verzichten, aber auch lernen, seine Freiheit an rechter Stelle zu gebrauchen,

sich eine eigene Meinung und Überzeugung zu bilden, sie mutig und frei in richtiger Form zu vertreten. Pünktlichkeit, Ordnungsliebe, unbedingte Wahrhaftigkeit, Ehrlichkeit und Leistungen, die den vorhandenen Kräften entsprachen, waren Grundvoraussetzungen unseres Zusammenlebens.⁵⁵

In his autobiography, Lietz sketched the following picture of the spirit of the Landerziehungsheime:

Hier...im Heime, verspürte man den Geist einer echten, grossen Familie. Alles wurde so zu gestalten versucht, dass es dem wahren Wohl, der Vorwärtsentwicklung jedes Einzelnen dienen konnte. Jeden wollte ich als Persönlichkeit beachtet, keinen, auch den Geringsten nicht, von irgend einem missachtet oder gar misshandelt wissen. Nichts sollte geduldet werden, was dem Ganzen wie dem Einzelnen zum Schaden gereichen musste. Ein materieller Zweck, die Erwerbung von Vermögen, Ansehen, Stellung, Recht kam für mich nicht in Frage. Statt dessen musste der Einsichtige bald herausfühlen, dass ein hohes Ziel, ein wertvolles religiöses, sittliches, soziales und vaterländisches Ideal hier massgebend sei und vorschwebte: Jedem zu ermöglichen, dass die wertvollen Anlagen in ihm zur Entwicklung gelangten, dass er seiner Bestimmung getreu ein wertvolles Glied der Gemeinde, des Vaterlandes, der Menschheit werde. Dieses Ideal sollte jeden und alles an diesem Platz adeln, allem Wert und Würde verleihen, alles durchdringen und beherrschen. Was diesem grossen Zwecke nicht diente, sollte wegfallen. Was ihm förderlich sei, sollte gepflegt werden, mochte es Spiel, Körperübung, praktische Arbeit jeder Art oder Wissenschaft und Kunst sein. Fremde, persönliche Zwecke, zumal solche minderwertiger, unsachlicher Art, Belohnungen, äussere Vorteile, "Berechtigungen" sollten nicht massgebend sein. Nicht um Lohn und Vorteils willen oder aus Furcht vor Strafe und Nachteilen und einfache Gute und Rechte an sich selbstverständlich und notwendig ist und allein innerlich befriedigt.⁵⁶

Education in the Country

Lietz's rejection of the modern industrial city as an environment for education has already been mentioned. It was impossible for the child to wander, even for one day, through its streets without experiencing and absorbing something of its corruption and vice. True family life, the best basis for Erziehung, was hardly possible there.

Der Bauernhof, die Handwerksstätte, die alte einfache Hauslichkeit sind fast verschwunden. Der Grossgrundbesitz, der mit Maschinen und ausländischen "Sachsengängern" arbeitet, die Mietskaserne, die Fabrik, das Comptoir des Grosskaufmanns, die Militarkasernen, die Sale, in denen die Beamten in langen Reihen sitzen, die Eisenbahnen und Dampfer, auf denen Millionen täglich und stündlich unterwegs sind, der ewige Wechsel in den Wohnungen, die Freizügigkeit, Unsesshaftigkeit, die sogenannten Versetzungen von einer Provinz in die andere, ins ferne Land, das Wogen der Bevölkerung vom Land und aus der Kleinstadt in die Grossstadt: dies und vieles andere haben thatsächlich das Familienleben bereits stark zersetzt, haben mindestens das alte System der Familiernerziehung für die Allgemeinheit völlig unhaltbar gemacht.⁵⁷

The really great men of the past, writes Lietz in Emlohstobba, men like E. M. Arndt, Theo Koerner, Scharnhorst, Stein, Cromwell and Pitt, were made what they were not by knowledge simply, but by their "Elternhaus." These Elternhäuser had provided them with a wisdom and a strength that was a far better guide in the struggles of life than book-learning. But modern conditions threatened to destroy these too.

Sie sind jedenfalls viel seltener geworden. Sie sind unmöglich geworden in der Grossstadt. Sie sind nur noch möglich geblieben auf dem Lande. Auf ländlicher Scholle, nicht auf dem Pflaster der Strassen sind ja überhaupt fast alle Männer aufgewachsen, welche Kraftvoll altersschwache Kulturen vor dem Verderben, vor der Verweichlichung zu erretten verstanden. Aber heute geht die meiste Kraft unserer auf dem Lande geborenen Jugend verloren, weil die höhere Unterrichtsschule den Knaben schon im neunten Jahre zu sich in die Enge der Stadt ruft.⁵⁸

There is little doubt that Lietz believed this, or that he saw his own life adversely affected by his move to Griefswald at nine years of age.

Lietz sought to create the atmosphere of the Elternhaus in his Landerziehungsheime, with the pupils filling the roles of sons, and his fellow teachers the rather thankless positions of the "hired help". Andreesen draws attention to this ideal of the Gutsherr with which Lietz identified.

...so ist Lietz' Ideal das eines Gutsherrn, besser eines Rügenschens Grossbauern. Er berichtet, dass aller bloss äusserliche Zwang, alles planmässige Beaufsichtigen, alles Herren- und Vorgesetztenspielen fortfiel. "Man lebte zusammen [writes Lietz] wie ein Gutsherr mit seinen Kindern, Geschwistern und Angestellten. Was man selbst im Garten und Wirtschaft schaffen und herstellen konnte, dazu wurde kaum fremde Hilfe geholt. Werkstätten aller Art - Tischlerei, Schmiede, Schlosserei, Mühle wurden betrieben. Im Laufe der Jahre wurde ein gut Stück des Gutes zu Obst- und Gemüseplantagen umgewandelt. Gesunde, selbständige, praktische Menschen sollten hier aufwachsen; vor allem aber auch gute, willensstarke, aufrichtige, sozial und vaterländisch empfindende!"⁵⁹

The country environment was to keep the youth insulated from modern life, to allow them to drink deeply in the traditions and values of rural Germany. Alexander and Parker write that the founders of the Landerziehungsheime "...were particularly eager to have their pupils live in close touch with country folk and to absorb from them the fundamental peasant virtues of simplicity, industry, and frugality, by sharing the same labor and observing genuine folkways in the School Home."⁶⁰ Lietz believed it vital to the future development of the child, that he remain pure during his school years.

Wie wichtig ist es zur Rettung der Nation, dass die zur Führung bestimmten in den entscheidenden Jugendjahren ihres Lebens unmittelbar vor Beginn ihrer Berufsarbeit und Eheschliessung ein reines, ernstes Leben führen, von hohen Idealen erfüllt werden, den Kampf gegen die Volksseuchen aufnehmen! So haben Schiller, Fichte, Schleiermacher, W.v. Humboldt, P. Lagarde, R. Eucken u.a. die Aufgabe der Jugend gekennzeichnet.⁶¹

Ascetic Education

It was mentioned in an earlier chapter how much Lietz admired his father and Rudolf Eucken for going out of doors in even the coldest weather without hat, overcoat, or gloves. He prided himself on doing likewise. He had a north German farmer's contempt for dandyism, softness, and weakness.

He was broad-shouldered and heavily muscled, an expert gymnast, and tough enough to throttle even a drunken Polish farm laborer wielding a brick. He had so identified his effectiveness with his physical prowess, that he once claimed that he would only lead the Landerziehungsheime so long as able to best his pupils in all physical exercises and sports,⁶² a rule he gave up when he was in his mid-forties.

Lietz often referred to himself in a manner that leads one to believe that he considered himself, his father and Rudolf Eucken, to be a vanishing type, similar to men like Arndt and Jahn of the days of the Freiheitskrieger. Both Arndt and Lietz toughened themselves with cold water baths and snow-rubbings. It was this type of hardy, rugged manhood that was behind Prussia's rise to power. They were found in both the Junker, peasant and farming classes. They were capable of withstanding hardship, were of an almost masochistic self-discipline, were loyal, obedient and simple in their habits. Such men made superb soldiers. It was this type of man who was becoming increasingly rare as the conditions which produced him disappeared beneath a rapidly industrializing Germany. Modernization threatened those virtues Lietz admired most: courage, independence, tenacity, will, physical strength, endurance, and the ability to overcome one's limits (Selbstüberwindung) in the face of hardship or obstacles. These were the manly qualities which, when combined with honor, loyalty, obedience, honesty, and simplicity, had been responsible for Germany's victories over the decadent Romans, and more recently, over the decadent French. These are the virtues which Lietz desired to instill in a new generation of German youth. They were qualities vital to the survival of the nation, and were always included when Lietz spoke of Charaktererziehung, and claimed that the victory of the Erziehungsschule meant the salvation of the nation.⁶³

Es kommt wahrlich nur Unheil dabei heraus, wenn Ihr die Jugend in Baumwolle und seidene Lappen wickelt. Mütet nicht bloss ihrem Verstand, mütet vor allem auch ihren Armen, ihren Beinen etwas zu! Härtet sie ab! Lasst sie etwas ertragen und wagen, - nur so können sie dereinst auch etwas gewinnen! Schon erheben sich die Anzeichen kommender Stürme, darum macht die Jugend Stark, auf dass sie ihnen erfolgreich trotzen kann!⁶⁴

Erich Meissner, a former student of Lietz's and later a teacher at Haubinda, entitled his excellent book on Lietz's educational work Asketische Erziehung. He believed this to have been the heart of Lietz's contribution to modern education. Meissner asks the question "Warum verlegte er denn seine Schulen auf das Land?"

Doch nicht einfach deshalb, weil er der Sohn eines Landwirts war. Das wäre doch eine etwas magere Begründung. Er hielt es für nötig, das Leben der Jugend radikal zu vereinfachen. Asketisch einfach sollte das Leben sein, ohne Luxus, ohne Zerstreung, den bleibenden Gegebenheiten zugewandt, deren tieferer Gehalt ihm persönlich, wie schon angedeutet, so vertraut war. Das schien ihm die beste Bedingung zu sein, um wirklich wertvolle Tätigkeit zu ermöglichen.⁶⁵

He sought to give them "eine Rückverbindung zum Elementaren...und damit der Vertiefung..."⁶⁶ Meissner calls this approach "die asketische Reduktion der Erfahrungsinhalte, man könnte auch sagen (denn es bedeutet genau das gleiche) die Anleitung zur Vertiefung."⁶⁷ Those who despise Lietz's work because of its "romantic" qualities, says Meissner, have simply failed to understand him. Lietz was not a "neo-romantic," but rather had his philosophical and psychological roots in "der Zeit der deutschen Klassik."⁶⁸ Meissner quotes a characteristic passage from Gott und Welt to provide an insight into Lietz's educational position:

An unserem Vaterland muss sich jetzt wie zuvor in den schweren Zeiten nach dem 30jährigen Kriege und nach Tilsit die Tatsache bewahrheiten, dass Leiden läutern, verinnerlichen, vertiefen, während grosse äussere Erfolge leicht hochmütig, äusserlich, "materiell" machen.⁶⁹

A character trait of Lietz's which should be mentioned in a discussion of his asceticism, was his continual hardness with himself, particularly as concerned his personal life. All who knew him have remarked his tremendous energy and endless appetite for work. He was constantly cutting back on his sleep in order to squeeze more into his days. It often happened that he was so tired during the day that he would fall asleep in group discussions or in a classroom. For years he did not sleep in a regular bed, but would collapse on the couch in his study. As a student at Jena he would drive himself mercilessly at his studies, sometimes not leaving his room all weekend and being at his desk from early morning until night.⁷⁰ He discovered that spiritual growth resulted from constantly striving to expand one's limits. Later in life he came to view these Jena years of hardship, deprivation and intense study as the happiest of his life.

So erfuhr ich, dass man das Bedürfnis nach Schlaf und Speise im Lauf der Monate bedeutend einschränken und zugleich Kraft und Sammlung zur geistigen Arbeit sehr steigern kann....Oftmals hatte ich an einem Tag nicht gewusst, woran ich am nächsten leben sollte. Manchmal hatte ich Wochen hindurch kaum einen Pfennig gehabt.... Und doch waren diese Jahre in vieler Beziehung die schönsten, sorglosesten und genüssreichsten meines Lebens....Eine Quelle reiner, hoher Freude, edelsten Genusses war mir die Wissenschaft, das Suchen nach Wahrheit geworden.⁷¹

Erich Meissner mentions that Lietz always enjoyed reading Goethe's poem, "Geheimnisse" to his students at Bieberstein, leaving no one in doubt that he considered the highpoint to be in the following lines:

Wenn einen Menschen die Natur erhoben,
Ist es kein Wunder, wenn ihm viel gelingt:
Man muss in ihm die Macht des Schöpfers loben,
Der schwachen Ton zu solcher Ehre bringt.
Doch wenn ein Mann von allen Lebensproben
Die sauerste besteht, sich selbst bezwingt,
Dann kann man ihn mit Freuden andern zeigen
und sagen: Das ist er, das ist sein eigen!

Denn alle Kraft dringt vorwärts in die Weite,
 Zu leben und zu wirken hier und dort;
 Dagegen engt und hemmt von jeder Seite
 Der Strom der Welt und reisst uns mit sich fort.
 In diesem innern Sturm und äussern Streite
 Vernimmt der Geist ein schwer verstanden Wort:
 Von der Gewalt, die alle Menschen bindet,
 Befreit der Mensch sich, der sich überwindet.⁷²

Although Lietz upon occasion evidenced a childlike pride in the fact that he had an income of almost half a million Marks (nevertheless, he was always in financial straits), he never indulged in luxurious living. His was the Spartan ideal of clean, simple, strenuous living. His appointments were always modest, his behavior direct and unassuming (though at times autocratic). Rich living found no shelter within his schools. "Ich glaube," he once wrote, "nur wo der Reichtum wirklich entschlossen ist, mit dem System des Luxus ernsthaft zu brechen, ist etwas Nennenswertes für ideale Zwecke zu erwarten."⁷³ In his Lebenserinnerungen he summed up this Spartan aspect of the Landerziehungsheime: "Mittelpunkt und Kern unserer Arbeit war und blieb Erziehung zur Schlichtheit."⁷⁴

Individualized Education

Like Lagarde, Lietz opposed the overemphasis upon providing each child with the broadest possible "general education," regardless of his interests and abilities. He believed that talents and capacities varied from child to child. The talented musician might be a poor scientist, the able mathematician a bad leader, a superior craftsman an inferior athlete. Lietz did not make qualitative distinctions between abilities, but whether or not a boy was developing his talents. In his essay, "Schulreform

und Schulprüfung" he affirms the principle "In der Beschränkung zeigt sich der Meister."⁷⁵ As each child's gifts are different, each should receive a different education. Ideally, every pupil would have a personal tutor and a personalized curriculum.⁷⁶

Das Kind braucht unsern Beistand. Darum auch müssen wir individualisieren, besser "personalisieren!" Und gerade der Schwache, der Unbegabte, der durch mancherlei fremde Schuld auf falschen Weg Gekommene braucht unsere Hilfe, Fürsorge und Liebe.⁷⁷

Of course, he realized that such a method was impractical. The best compromise was to keep classes small and encourage intimate contact between teachers and pupils, so that each child remained unique and could be personally experienced by the instructor. "Vorbedingung jeder tieferen Einwirkung auf ein Individuum ist Kenntniss der Natur, der Beschaffenheit derselben."⁷⁸

Since it is extremely rare to find a child universally gifted, but common to find children gifted in one area but not in another, Lietz considered it to be a complete misunderstanding on the part of school officials to create Sonderklassen for "exceptional" or "bright" children.

In Wahrheit kann man von einer grosseren Begabung einzelner, von Ausnahmen abgesehen, überhaupt nicht sprechen; denn es gibt immer nur solche, die auf einzelnen Gebieten befähigter sind, während gerade ihnen Verständnis für anderes abgeht. Der dringende Ruf nach Sonderklassen Begabter ist dennoch ein Beweis für unsere Behauptung, das die Schulen falsch organisiert sind.⁷⁹

Such "special classes" have their origins in the impersonality of the schools and a failure to recognize that there is no such thing as generally "bright" and "dull" students. Such divisions lead to un-

necessary feelings of inferiority on the part of some children whose talents lie in other areas. The challenge and excitement of education, for Lietz, lay in the discovery and development of each child's special gifts.

In the Landerziehungsheime each child was given a great deal of freedom to discover and develop his own talents and interests. Freedom, individuality, and community were to be the central pivots upon which Lietz's educational activity moved. There is a danger of misunderstanding Lietz's intentions on this point. Lietz might be suspected of "anti-democratic" attitudes because he believed that giving everyone the same education, the Einheitsschule idea, was bad.

Allen Kindern des deutschen Volkes die Gleiche
Bildung zu vermitteln, ohne Rücksicht auf die Verschiedenheit
der Haben, Neigungen, Berufe, wäre natürlich eine schwere Verirrung
und ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit.⁸⁰

But Lietz was not advocating a klassenmäßige Erziehung which gave the rich or nobly born a different education from that of the poor or working classes. Lietz firmly believed that all should be allowed to develop their talents regardless of their class or economic status.

Das Schulleben wird das Übungsfeld für die Erlernung
staatsbürgerlicher Pflichten, die Schule wird der Staat der
Kleinen. Und wenn man den Mut hat, mit dem Gedanken der
Volkserziehung Ernst zu machen und nicht mehr Geld und Stand
der Eltern, sondern körperliche, geistige, sittliche Tüchtig-
-> keit entscheiden zu lassen bei der Aufnahme in eine Schulgattung
dann wird auch die echte soziale, die Christliche Idee die
allerdings nicht Sache einer einzelnen Partei ist, sondern jeden
Freund des Vaterlandes und der Menschheit tief durchdringen muss,
zum Siege gelangen, wie im Staat der Kleinen, so auch in dem
Grossen. Dann erst kann die echte Versöhnung der Stände erfolgen.⁸¹

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE LANDERZIEHUNGSHEIME

Although Lietz sought to make his schools miniature models of an ideal, or purified real, national society, he somewhat inconsistently refused to make them coeducational. Although he later came to accept, in principle, the value of coeducation in preparing his pupils for "real life," and even accepted a few girls into his schools, the Lietzian Landerziehungsheime never became truly coeducational.⁸² Ilsenburg had four girls and seventy-nine boys, Haubinda had four girls and eighty-four boys, and Bieberstein one girl and sixty-five boys, in 1912.⁸³

An innovation of the Landerziehungsheime was their unification of the internat and school into an organic whole. Most other boarding schools in Germany kept the organization of the school separate from that of the boarding facilities. The center point of this system was the "family". Gustav Wyneken considered himself to have been the originator of the "family".⁸⁴ It was to be an alternative to the "prefect" system which had been common at Ilsenburg until 1901 when Lietz took the older pupils, including all the prefects, with him to begin Haubinda. The head of each "family" was an individual male teacher (Vater), or couple when possible. It was to accomplish the tasks of the family in society--concern for the mental and physical welfare of the boys, to give them comfort and aid when necessary, and to provide close supervision of their overall lives. Between ten to twelve boys belonged to each family. The family "fathers" were addressed as Du and Vater by the family members. Efforts were made

to play and eat together, take hikes and week-end trips in a group, and have "family evenings" with the Vater. At Ilsenburg the families had living and sleeping rooms together; at Haubinda each was able to have their own house.

An important aspect of the organization of the Landerziehungsheime was their separation of the boys into three different schools on the basis of age. The Unterstufe, boys from 8 to 12 years, was at Ilsenburg; the Mittelstufe, from 13 to 15 years, was at Haubinda; and the Oberstufe, from 16 to 18 years, was at Bieberstein. Wilhelm Rein claimed to have given Lietz the idea of dividing his schools into three sections.⁸⁵

Lietz, himself, justified such an organization in the following manner:

Jede der drei Altersstufen, die des Kindes, des Knaben und Mädchens, des Jünglings und der Jungfrau, bedingt auch Unterschiede in Lebens-, Arbeits- und Erziehungsweise; jeder Altersstufe muss möglichst selbständig aus sich heraus wachsen. Die Entwicklung der Jüngeren darf nicht in blossen Nachahmung der älterer Kameraden bestehen, die auch bei gutem Willen die Kleineren nicht immer günstig beeinflussen; sie muss spontan von innen heraus fortschreiten. Aus allen diesen Gründen sah ich es als Gefahr und groben Fehler an, im Alumnat alle Altersstufen beisammenzuhalten.⁸⁶

Each school was to have its own individual atmosphere, activities, and educational goals. Alongside the academic work which was to be done at each school, Ilsenburg was to emphasize play and work in the garden, Haubinda practical work on the farm and in the workshops, and Bieberstein independent "...Vertiefung im hehren Bau der Wissenschaft und Kunst."⁸⁷

Bei den Kleinen herrschte das Spiel, die ungezwungene Phantasie, die Welt des Märchens und der Sage vor. Gut, dass die "Klügeren" älteren Kameraden nicht zugegen waren. So naiv kindlich, rückhaltlos vertrauensvoll, ohne Berechnung hätten die Kleinen sich sonst wohl kaum in ihrem Tun und Lassen, Spiel und Verkehr geäußert. Enger Zusammenschluss der "Familie" unter sich und mit dem "Familienvater" war deutlich zu bemerken.

In Haubinda hingegen trachtete jeder Junge nach Selbständigkeit. Engere Freundschaften weniger untereinander bildeten sich. Solche Freunde unternahmen gern grössere Werke miteinander, den mühsamen Bau einer Höhle oder Hütte, oder sie suchten Abenteuer zusammen zu bestehen. Beim Anschluss an andere, auch Erwachsene, verführen sie schon Kritischer. Unterordnung fiel ihnen bedeutend schwerer. Den Kleinen war sie selbstverständlich. [For those at Bieberstein]...Ausgeprägte Begabungen und Neigungen wissenschaftlicher, technischer, künstlerischer Art traten schon hervor. Mit ihnen das Bedürfnis, Zeit, Ruhe, Gelegenheit zu finden, die erwachenden Fähigkeiten in strenger Einzelarbeit zu schulen und zu betätigen.⁸⁸

The physical location of each school was chosen for its so-called "geo-psychic" factor, the effect of landscape upon the development of the child.⁸⁹ Alexander and Parker have provided a somewhat idealized picture of the "geo-psychic" location of Ettersburg.

The school for the youngest children stands in gently rolling country. It is an unpretentious country estate, whose wide gates look down a village street lined with varicolored cottages. No vehicle rattles over the cobblestones except an occasional ox cart. Only the tinkle of the bell in the cobbler's shop or the hours sounded from the church tower disturb the stillness. Children go by carrying on their heads great pans of cake to be baked in the ovens of the community bakeshop. Behind the houses runs a canal, on whose grassy banks flocks of geese stand all day long. In the morning the school children see the villagers go out to their fields. In the evening they watch them trudging home beside their laden carts. The life of the community is like an open book that lies outspread before the eyes of the children and belongs to them. When a festival is at hand, the village musicians march up the street and play in the school court-yard, while the children gather about to dance and sing. When a carnival sets up its tents across the bridge, the whole school goes down to share the amusements of the peasants. Their own school is a miniature village with stalls, barns and tool shed, facing the same courtyard where the children play and across which they run from class to class. The schoolroom windows are always open to the sights and sounds of farm life. Behind the manor house where the children live, flows the same stream that parallels the village street. It turns the wheel of a mill which grinds into flour the grain peasants and schoolboys alike bring in from their fields. Across a footbridge lie the gardens, where each child plants and tends his own little patch or works in the school garden that supplies quantities of food for the table. The pupils, as well as the peasants, have harvest festivals, when school is dismissed

for the day and every one goes out to bring in the hay or potatoes. Their seasons are marked by the same events as those of the villagers and their interests are much alike. The leaders of the L.E.H. may say very truly that children who pass three or four years in such an environment are "rooted in the native soil" and their minds are stored with impressions that remain vivid throughout life.⁹⁰

Haubinda came closest to realizing the ideal of Fichte's Erziehungsstaat, or Goethe's padagogische Provinz, as remarked by Paul Geheeb.⁹¹ Lietz, too, saw this isolated estate as an ideal opportunity to realize these dreams.⁹² His goal, never fully realized due to the financial problems which forced him to sell the greater part of Haubinda's lands, was the creation of a completely self-sufficient educational community. The manor had 1360 Morgen (1 Morgen = 0.6 to 0.9 acre) of land attached. Of this 450 Morgen was in forest, 100 Morgen in meadow, and 800 Morgen in cultivated crop land. In addition, the farm possessed 20 horses, 14 oxen, 60 cows, 250 sheep, 50 pigs and countless chickens.⁹³

Bieberstein, on the other hand, was an imposing yet graceful castle which once belonged to the Prince-Bishops of Fulda. It was situated on a wooded hilltop overlooking the Röhn River, and provided the oldest boys with an almost cloister-like isolation and quiet.

Although the developmental goals of each of the three Heime were somewhat different, the daily routines were much the same. Lietz considered this daily life in the schools to be the central and most important educative element in the Landerziehungsheime experience. In view of this, his own description of a typical day, though long, is by far the best for an understanding of the spirit and content of his schools.

Wie verbrachten denn nun die Ilsenburger Rotmützen [they wore red berets] ihren Tag?

In der Frühe, 5 Uhr 45, ertönt der Morgenruf des Waldhorns. Die weissen Wolldecken werden zur Seite geworfen. Die letzten Schläfrigen von den "Präfekten," später von den Familienvätern, geweckt; die Kleinsten lässt man noch eine Stunde länger schlafen. In Laken oder Decken gehüllt, kommt man von den verschiedenen Seiten her flink zur Ilse gelaufen. Einer der Stärkeren windet die Schotten des Wehres hoch, und das Wasser stürzt hernieder auf Schultern und Nacken der laut Jubelnden. In den Zimmern reibt man sich ab. Schnell sind die "Wollsocken," die kurzen blauen Spielhosen, Sandalen, ein Lahmann-Hemd oder ein kurzes "Sporthemd" und eine Gürteljacke angezogen; und um 6 Uhr 15 sind alle im Speisesaal versammelt, ja eine "Familie" von etwa 8 Kindern mit ihrem Lehrer an einem Tisch. Ein kurzes Morgenlied wird gesungen; der Leiter verliest ein Kernwort aus der Bibel mit kurzem Hinweis auf seine Bedeutung. Dann lässt man sich das Hafermus (Walzhafer) mit Milch und Zucker und Das kräftige Schrotbrot mit Mus wohlschmecken. Schnell werden Becher, Teller, Geschirr von allen bgeräumt; die Betten in den luftdurchwehten sonnigen Räumen sorgsam "gebaut"; dann gehts in den Unterricht; in der ersten Zeit noch dazu in das kleine Schulhäuschen am Eichwald, an der Werrigeröder Strasse, teils im Dauerlauf oder Marsch, teils mit dem Rad. Später spielte sich die ganze Arbeit auf der Pulvermühle selbst ab. Je 45 Minuten dauerte eine "Unterrichtsstunde." In den Pausen wird fröhlich im Eichwald oder auf dem weiten Schulhof gespielt. Soweit es das Wetter, der behandelte Gegenstand, der Umfang und die Disziplin der Klasse gestattet, wird draussen im Freien unter Bäumen, am Bach oder Fluss unterrichtet. Unterricht bedeutet mir Zusammenarbeit aller unter Leitung des Lehrers; jedem Schüler steht es frei, Fragen zu stellen, als Zeichen von Anteilnahme und Eifer und zur Klärung von allem, was ihm zweifelhaft blieb. Dabei sind Disziplin, Ordnung und Haltung die notwendigen Voraussetzungen für jeden Erfolg.

Um 12 Uhr ist diese Arbeit vollendet. Bald sind alle im Speisesaal des Heims beisammen. Ein kurzes Dichterwort wird vernommen. Dann der Hunger gestillt. Gemüse, Früchte, Nachspeisen fehlen nicht, wohl aber alle Getränke und alle scharfen Gewürze. Gegen Schluss der Mahlzeit werden allerlei Bekanntmachungen verkündet, in späterer Zeit zumeist auch wichtige Tagesnachrichten vorgelesen.

Die dann folgenden 1 bis 1 1/2 Stunden Freizeit kann jeder seinem Wunsche gemäss verbringen, sich ruhen oder spielen oder sich mit irgend etwas beschäftigen, das ihm zusagt. Von 2 bis 3 Uhr 45 sind an vier Wochennachmittagen alle mit praktischen Arbeiten, Handwerks- oder Kunstübung beschäftigt. Da sieht man die Abteilungen je mit einem Lehrer, Gärtner oder dem Gutsverwalter im Garten beim Graben, Pflanzen, Jäten, Okulieren, Obst- und Beerenpflücken, oder auf der Wiese beim Heumachen, auf dem Felde bei der Ernte oder auf dem Holzhof beim Holzspalten oder an der Ilse beim Baumfällen beschäftigt. Oder man findet sie in der Tischlerei beim Hobeln, Sägen, Stemmen und Verleimen. In all diesen Beschäftigungen gilt es, alles bloss Spielerische zu verhindern; überall werden ernste,

handwerksgemässe Leistungen verlangt, wobei in allen Dingen beachtet sein will, dass jeder einzelne seinen Anlagen und Kräften entsprechend herangezogen wird und etwas leiste. Andere Abteilungen wieder sind beim Zeichnen, Modellieren oder Musikspiel beschäftigt. Nach diesen praktischen und künstlerischen Übungen wurde von 4 bis 5 Uhr gesungen oder auf den Wiesen gespielt und geturnt. Erst nach Jahren konnte für Übungen im Winter eine geräumige Turnhall gebaut werden. Um 5 Uhr begann dann die wissenschaftliche Arbeitsstunde, das im Unterricht Besprochene wurde wiederholt; aufs Kommende bereitete man sich vor. Ein Teil dieser Arbeit bestand von Anfang an in den "Ausarbeitungen," in denen an Hand einer gegebenen Gliederung der Inhalt des morgens Besprochenen schriftlich wiedergegeben wurde. Diese von vielen mit grosser Liebe geführten, oft durch Zeichnungen und Bilder ergänzten gut gebundenen "roten Hefte" sollten gewissermassen die selbst verfassten Lehrbücher bilden. - Die Kleineren fanden bei ihrer Arbeit Hilfe von seiten der Präfecten oder Lehrer; die Grosseren sollten möglichst ohne Hilfe selbständig fertig werden. Um 6 Uhr 45 spätestens waren wir dann alle bei der Abendmahlzeit versammelt. Soweit das Wetter es irgend gestattete, fanden alle im "blauen Zimmer" oder in der "Kapelle" oben im Haupthaus. Des Tages Arbeit ist zu Ende, der Abend hereingebrochen. Oft schon zogen Mond und Sterne oder seine Nebel auf der Wiese herauf. Alle sind am Boden gelagert. Ein Abendlied wird gesungen. Und dann wird vom Leiter des Heims etwas erzählt oder vorgelesen, das schönste von deutscher Dichtung, deutschen Marchen, Erzählungen, Lebens beschreibungen, aus dem reichen Schatz alles dessen, in dem deutsches Herz und Gemut und deutsches Wesen zum Ausdruck kommen, soweit es dem Alter und Verstandnis der Kinder angemessen war. Es sollte der stille Abschluss des Tages, die erhebende Feierstunde nach aller Mühe und Arbeit sein. Für viele wurden diese stillen Abendstunden zu den schönsten Erlebnissen des Heimlebens, an die sie noch Jahre danach gern zurückdachten. Die Mittwoch- und Sonnabendnachmittage bis zur Arbeitsstunde sowie die Sonntage waren den Kindern zur freien Benutzung überlassen. Auch sich selbst zu beschäftigen, ihre Zeit zu benutzen, mussten sie lernen und Gelegenheit haben eigenen Neigungen zu folgen und eigene Wege zu gehen. Unser enges Zusammenleben, die Fülle der Einrichtungen des Heims, Beispiel der Kameraden und vor allem der gute Geist des Heims bürgten - so vertrauten wir - dafür, dass auch diese gewährte Freiheit zum Segen wurde. Da wurde dann gespielt, auf die Berge der Umgegend gewandert, mit Rad, Schlitten oder Schneeschuhen gefahren, photographiert, gelesen, gemalt, musiziert, Höhlen gegraben, Hütten gezimmert, der Geburtstag eines Kameraden gefeiert oder an die Angehörigen geschrieben. Die Art, wie diese Freizeit benützt wurde, war ein guter Wertmesser dafür, was Geistes Kind und wie weit fortgeschritten der Einzelne war. Zwischen 8 und 9 Uhr schliesslich gingen die Kinder zu Bett. So verlief der Tag in den Heimen im Wechsel zwischen geistiger und körperlicher Tätigkeit. Freude war die vorherrschende Stimmung vor allem der Kleinsten.⁹⁴

The Landerziehungsheime were organized, academically, as Ober-realschulen, that is, secondary schools which emphasized modern languages and the sciences. Lietz felt this to be a compromise with his educational principles, but the parents of his pupils demanded that their children be prepared for the Zweijährige and Abitur exams and thereby be qualified for entrance to the university and the civil service. The students in the upper forms were allowed to specialize in one of three general areas: history and the social sciences (for future statesmen, historians and jurists), mathematics and natural sciences (for future scientists, physicians and engineers), and modern and ancient languages (for future theologians, philologists, and merchants).⁹⁵

Wanderungen

An integral part of the Landerziehungsheim experience were the hikes and travels in Germany, Europe and the world. These were of two basic kinds: shorter trips--on weekends or during the Michaelmas and Pfingsten breaks--usually undertaken in family groups with the Vater, participation being required of all pupils, and the longer travels in summertime to foreign countries, under Lietz's leadership, with student participation optional.

The shorter excursions were generally in the Wandervogel style--walking with back-packs, camping in forest and field or farmer's barn, avoiding the main tourist routes, etc. It was also common for a number of boys to set out alone on bicycles, skis, or afoot, for a weekend's adventure.

The summertime travels were one of the high points of the year.

Over the years Lietz took his pupils to England, France, Switzerland, Holland, Italy, Greece, Finland, Sweden and Norway, Constantinople, Egypt, and the United States (to Chicago). These trips would often involve a combination of train travel, bicycling, and hiking. According to Lietz, the purpose of these longer journeys was:

Durch das Wandern lernt das Kind sich in andere Lander versetzen, seine heimatlichen Vorstellungen und Begriffe umdenken. Daneben muss der hohe sittliche Wert des Wanderns in Betracht gezogen werden, die erziehung zu Ausdauer, Disziplin, Selbstverlegung, Selbstandigkeit, vor allem aber zur Hintansetzung materieller Guter und Bequemlichkeiten fur die reine Lust an der schonen Natur, an der Freiheit, am Schauen und an kraftiger Betatigung.

Civic Training

Lietz instituted a form of practical civic training in his schools which involved the self-administration of the community by the students. This was not of the democratic sort which Wyneken and Geheeb developed at Wickersdorf and the Odenwaldschule. Rather, it was of a patriarchal sort found in the country family, where the children all participate in the daily functioning of the farm, along the guidelines established by the father. Through such work the student was to learn orderliness, cleanliness, self-sacrifice for the community, obedience, and responsibility.

Practical Work

Practical work and physical labor played a central role in the Landerziehungsheime, not solely for their educational value, but also because of their economic contribution to the welfare of the community. It was not uncommon for school buildings, plumbing and electrical facili-

ties, furniture and work equipment to be all made by the pupils, under the leadership of a master workman. In the early years at Ilsenburg, practical work and labor involved only agricultural activities like gardening, haymaking and animal husbandry. Later, at Haubinda, the full range of the crafts were learned, including iron work, locksmithing, carpentry, wheel- and barrel-making, masonry, baking, meat-cutting, shoe-making, book-binding, painting, glassblowing and gardening.

The objective of this activity was not simply the learning of trades and skills or the economic contribution which they made to the community, but also the breaking-down of the barriers that separated bourgeoisie and worker, "head-work" from "hand-work." The child was to learn respect for the skilled craftsman and laborer.

Toughening of the Body

The hardening of the body was a major objective of the Landerziehungsheime. Lietz considered physical weakness and dandyism to be causes of cultural decline. It was through an ascetic overcoming of one's fears and weaknesses that the will is strengthened. Practical work, labor and sport were the primary methods used to harden the body and develop the pupil's will. Each day began with a run and a bath in cold water. After each class the children were encouraged to play out-of-doors and exercise. The afternoons were devoted to sport and work. Rugby was especially encouraged because of its roughness. Bloody noses and skinned knees were marks of heroism in the Landerziehungsheime. Gymnastics was also a favorite sport, Lietz, himself, being an avid and talented Gymnast. Emphasis was always placed on developing courage and endurance in the

youth. One of the official reports on Haubinda complains that Lietz refused to take action to prevent excessive bicycling--as, for example, when some of his pupils rode to Bamberg and back (200 km) in one day.⁹⁶ Yet, all of the visitors to the schools remarked on vitality and healthiness of the children. Even though dormitory rooms were unheated year-round, and the windows always kept open, colds were unknown. In his first health inspection of Haubinda, Dr. Leubuscher remarked on the vitality and happiness of the children:

Die Zöglinge gewahren durchweg einen gesunden kräftigen Eindruck in körperlicher Beziehung, auch geistig machen sie durchweg den Eindruck aufgeweckter fröhlicher Knaben. Müde, abgearbeitete oder verdrossene Gesichter habe ich nicht bemerkt.⁹⁷

F. Grunder, in his book on the Landerziehungsheime and Free Schools, also mentions the joyousness and liveliness of the boys at the Lietzischen Heime:

Diese Frische und Natürlichkeit, der freie und freundschaftliche Ton und die lebendige und aufgeschlossene Stimmung in den Heimen fiel allen Gästen auf und wird stets hervorgehoben.⁹⁸

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In his Lebenserinnerungen Lietz recalled the almost paradisaical happiness of his childhood on Rügen--the life close to nature, the freedom and security of rural living, being a much-loved younger child in a closely-knit family of nine, growing up harmoniously and purely in a landscape still unmarred by industrialization, and in a society as yet unbroken by class-conflicts--it seemed, to the older man, to have been a perfect life. It was this intimate, patriarchal, farming life that became the ideal after which the Landerziehungsheime were fashioned, where "man lebte zusammen wie ein Gutsherr mit seinen Kindern, seinen Geschwistern und Angestellten."¹

The years spent in the Gymnasia of Greifswald and Stralsund appeared to the young Lietz like an exile in a land of corruption and turmoil, somewhere east of Eden. The harmonious life of the farm was replaced by the one-sided cultivation of the intellect. In this new environment physical labor and the laborer were despised as being beneath the dignity of Gymnasialists. The loving home life directed by a strong and intelligent father, was supplanted by the cold impersonality of pedantic school masters. The vigorous, healthful play and work on the farm was superseded by bookish cramming, poussieren, drunkenness and sexual perversion. The natural piety and faithfulness of the rural folk, which disdained dogmatism or literalism, was replaced with the smugness, cynicism and shallow materialism of the urban

population.

These initial experiences of the modern city, later reinforced with visits to Hamburg and Berlin, formed the basis of Lietz's aversion to urban, industrial Germany. He rejected a society which seemed founded on division: brains alienated from bodies, "head-work" from "hand-work", bourgeoisie from proletariat, city from the country. Lietz believed these antinomies to be, in part, a result of the educational system that reflected and encouraged these same divisions. To the ostentatious luxury of the urban upper classes he contrasted the simplicity, the spartan vigor of the farming families which had produced men like Bismarck and E. M. Arndt. His later work as an educator demonstrated to him the almost irreparable harm that accompanied a childhood spent in the city: such youth were "verweichlicht, blasiert, geckenhaft."²

...immer wieder hat es sich gezeigt, dass das übliche Stadtleben der besitzenden Klassen für praktische Arbeit jeder Art auf dem Lande unbrauchbar macht, wie es ja überhaupt eine Summe gesunder Instinkte und Anlage vernichtet.³

The country life toughened the body and strengthened the will. The Gutsherr worked and sweated alongside the laborer, whom he respected and whose welfare he insured. In contrast, the urban bourgeoisie were contemptuous of the workers they exploited.

Lietz left the Gymnasium with a deep-seated antipathy for schoolmasters, secondary education and the city. It was not until his university years at Halle and Jena that he discovered the joys and excitement of learning. It was Rudolf Eucken, in particular, who became the model for Lietz's further development. Eucken, a Friesländer, became his ideal of the harmonious man: activist as well as

scholar, ascetic and artist, a man who had joined scientific realism and mystical idealism in a higher synthesis. It was in Eucken's Lebensphilosophie, which aimed at the union of religion and philosophy, that Lietz found a Weltanschauung that provided a rationalization of his earlier experiences and supported his rejection of modern materialism and hedonism. Like Eucken, he came to believe that Germany was passing through a time of severe crisis, the outcome of which would determine the future of the race:

A crisis of this kind is bound to lead either to the destruction or the advance of the race. The man who, in spite of all the confusion and distress of the times, believes in the possibility, the necessity, of advancing, must plead for a thorough revolution, for the emergence of a world of action, for a spiritual reformation; and for this he must shake off all indifference and lukewarmness, and reject every comfortable middle path as wrong.⁴

Eucken's philosophy, or theology, of the "spiritual life," reinforced Lietz's impatience with men who were content only to think and talk. With Eucken, Lietz believed that one had to live his ideals, realize the spiritual in life.

It was partially from Fichte, with whom Lietz also identified, that he derived the conviction that "crisis" of modern Germany could be overcome through the proper education of youth. He also embraced Fichte's mystical nationalism along with his deification of language and culture. Lietz, too, came to believe that it was Germany's mission to overcome the antinomies of the world and to realize the ideals of Christianity in a specifically German form. Fichte's great dream of the regeneration of the nation by means of a national education, was Lietz's dream as well:

Der Wiederaufbau einer inneren Welt, die sorgfältige Pflege alles dessen, was dem Leben des Einzelnen und der Gesamtheit bleibenden wahren Wert verleiht, ist und bleibt hohe Aufgabe aller Vaterlandsliebenden. Diesem Zweck sollen deutsche Sozialpolitik und Volkserziehung im neuen Volksstaat dienen. Von ihnen erhoffen wir Ähnliches, wie es in den Tagen Pestalozzis und J. G. Fichtes geschah.⁵

Along with Eucken and Fichte, Lietz named Paul de Lagarde as one of the "prophets" of the German nation. Lagarde shared his rejection of modern Germany and hopes for a spiritual rebirth. Like Lietz and Eucken, Lagarde was a liberal, even radical, theologian. Like Fichte, Lagarde envisioned Germany's task to be the creation of the Kingdom of God on earth. Lagarde also followed Fichte's conviction that the Germans, alone, had preserved their original spiritual impulse (Volksgeist) uncontaminated down to modern times. This was the secret of the nation's greatness and cultural power. The great men of the past, too, had preserved their own direct connection to the divine force, enjoying unmediated intercourse with both God and the world. Such men, like Fichte and Lagarde himself, were "prophets" speaking with the voice of the pure spirit. As these men were to the nation, so was Germany to the world. Lagarde saw this role as the prophetic people endangered by the nation's wholesale adoption of foreign ideals and institutions, its materialism, and its literalistic conservatism. Like Fichte, and Lietz later, Lagarde believed the hope of the nation to lie in the education of youth--an education in the countryside, insulated from the corruption of the modern cities and their society.

His happy childhood on Rügen and the painful gymnasial years, on the one hand, and his discovery and adoption of a "prophetic", nationalistic form of German idealism, on the other: these were the

pivotal events in Lietz's life and instrumental to an understanding of the origin and purpose of the Landerziehungsheime, Lietz's Tat.

...der Wunsch, als Erzieher der Jugend Helfer zu werden, entstand bei mir...aus Nöten und Erfahrungen der eigenen Jugend.⁶

Wurde ich Lehrer, dann wollte ich allerdings mit ganzer Kraft, Verantwortlichkeit und Selbständigkeit wirken. Alles Halbe, Schwächliche, Matthe war mich zuwider. Fichte, E. M. Arndt, F. de Lagarde and R. Eucken waren mir Vorbilder.⁷

It was out of the tension between the concrete personal experience and the idealistic Weltanschauung, between the farming life and intellectual work, between the happiness of the child on Rügen and the altogether different sort of happiness of the student Lietz, at Jena, that the Landerziehungsheim was created, as a bridge between two selves, two worlds, two ideals. It is hardly surprising that since the Heime had resolved his own antinomies, Lietz would come to believe that it would be the instrument of salvation for an entire nation divided into country and city, bourgeoisie and proletariat, science and religion, materialism and idealism.

The organization of the Landerziehungsheime was a direct reflection of Lietz's personal experience and his educational and religious-philosophical ideals. The schools were to resemble farming estates, which Lietz believed to be the most desirable setting for the all-round development of the personality. The atmosphere of the schools was to be that of the patriarchal family. There were to be warmth, helpfulness and comradely relations between teacher and pupil.

The students were to live a harmonious, healthful life, equally divided into intellectual and physical development.

The body and the will were to be strengthened through labor, sport, Wanderungen and other strenuous activities. As education was to prepare the pupil for life in the real world, the schools were organized as Oberrealschulen. Teaching methodology involved a good deal of "learning by doing" and experiment. This extended family community was also to provide the pupils with citizenship training, teaching them self-discipline, dutifulness, respect for authority, and self-sacrifice for the collective. The schools were to reflect and embody German traditions and values. It was to be an idealistic, national education that the Landerziehungsheime provided, decidedly religious in character, the ultimate goal of which was the spiritual renewal of the German nation.

FOOTNOTES

Notes to Chapter 1

¹Adolphe Ferriere, "Hermann Lietz," Pädagogisches Zentralblatt, 8. Jg., Heft 3, 1928, pp. 151-156.

²Thomas Alexander and Beryl Parker, The New Education in the German Republic (New York: Day, 1929).

³Ferriere, "Hermann Lietz."

⁴A. E. Meyer, Modern European Educators and Their Work (New York: Prentice Hall, 1934).

⁵Robert J. A. Skidelsky, English Progressive Schools (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1970).

⁶Fritz Karsen, Deutsche Versuchsschulen der Gegenwart (Leipzig: Durr'sche Verlag, 1923).

⁷Ibid., p. 73.

⁸Ibid., p. 74.

⁹Gustav Wyneken, "Erinnerungen an Hermann Lietz," in Hermann Lietz: Zeugnisse seiner Zeitgenossen, ed. by Elisabeth Kützer (Stuttgart: Klett, 1968), pp. 72-120.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 119-120.

¹¹Alfred Andreesen, Hermann Lietz: Der Schöpfer der Landerziehungsheime (Munich: J. F. Lehmann, 1934).

¹²Ibid., p. 5.

¹³Ibid., pp. 11-12.

¹⁴George Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology (New York: Universal Library, 1964).

- ¹⁵Ibid., pp. 160-170.
- ¹⁶Herbert Bauer, Zur Theorie und Praxis der ersten deutschen Landerziehungsheime (Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1961).
- ¹⁷Joachim Knoll, Pädagogische Elitebildung (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1964).
- ¹⁸Erich Meissner, Asketische Erziehung: Hermann Lietz und seine Pädagogik (Weinheim: Beltz, 1965).
- ¹⁹Ibid., p. 31.
- ²⁰Ibid., p. 37.
- ²¹Ibid., p. 67.
- ²²Ibid., p. 38.
- ²³Ibid., p. 38.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 39.
- ²⁵Hermann Lietz, "Was bedeuten Pädagogisches Universitäts-Seminar zu Jena für die deutschen Landerziehungsheime," in Das Lebenswerk Professor Reins, quoted in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 22.
- ²⁶Hermann Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen: Von Leben und Arbeit eines deutschen Erziehers, ed. by Alfred Andreesen (Weimar: Hermann-Lietz-Verlag, 1935), p. 67.
- ²⁷Hermann Lietz, "Ein Rückblick auf Entstehung, Eigenart und Entwicklung der Deutschen Land-Erziehungsheime nach 15 Jahren ihres Bestehens," in Die Landerziehungsheimbewegung, ed. by Theo. Dietrich (Bad Heilbrunn/Obb.: Klinkhardt, 1967), pp. 41-42.
- ²⁸William Brickman, "The Contribution of Hermann Lietz to Education" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1938).

Notes to Chapter 2

¹British Naval Intelligence Division, Germany: Physical Geography, Geographical Handbook Series BR 529, I (January, 1944), pp. 146-147.

²Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 12.

³Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 24.

⁴Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 9.

⁵Ibid., p. 9.

⁶Ibid., p. 4.

⁷Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 21.

⁸Ibid., p. 61.

⁹Meissner, Asketische Erziehung, p. 13.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 14.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹²Hermann Lietz, Emlahstobba: Roman oder Wirklichkeit? Bilder aus dem Schulleben der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart oder Zukunft. (Berlin: Dummler, 1897), pp. 187-188. Quoted in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 87.

¹³Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 32.

¹⁴E. A. Anderson, Nationalism and the Cultural Crisis in Prussia, 1806-1815 (New York: Octagon, 1966), pp. 67, 69, 83, 85.

¹⁵Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 55.

¹⁶Rudolf Lassahn, ed., Hermann Lietz: Schulreform durch Neugründung. Ausgewählte Pädagogische Schriften (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1970), p. 180.

¹⁷Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 45.

- ¹⁸Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, pp. 21-26.
- ¹⁹Lietz, "Was bedeuten Universitäts-Seminar und Übungsschule für die DLEH," quoted in Ibid., p. 22.
- ²⁰Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 21.
- ²¹Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 56.
- ²²Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, pp. 9-10.
- ²³Ibid., pp. 8-9.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 16.
- ²⁵Ibid., p. 17.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 17.
- ²⁷Ibid., p. 12. Lietz considered the prerequisite for any improvement of the schools to lie in "einer energischen Beschränkung der antiken Sprachen im Unterricht, (und) zugleich in der Herstellung einer Einheit im Lehrplan, welche fürs nationale Leben passt." Ibid., p. 12.
- ²⁸Stefan Zweig, Die Welt von Gestern: Erinnerungen eines Europäers (S. Fischer, 1962), p. 40.
- ²⁹Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 18.
- ³⁰Ibid., p. 18.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 29.
- ³²Ibid., p. 26. Andreesen mentions that Lietz was never a good mathematician, and on several occasions wanted to cut it from the curricula of the Landerziehungsheime, but was dissuaded from doing so by himself. For this particular examination, Lietz studied diligently for weeks, reviewing the entire year's work. He never ceased to believe that mathematics were a mere "formalistische Spielerei." Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 57, pp. 60-61.
- ³³Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 61.

- ³⁴Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 31.
- ³⁵Ibid., p. 65.
- ³⁶Ibid., p. 65.
- ³⁷Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 42.
- ³⁸Hermann Lietz, Des Vaterlandes Not und Hoffnung: Gedanken und Vorschläge zur Sozialpolitik und Volkserziehung (Hamburg: Hermann Lietz-Verlag, 1934), p. 2.
- ³⁹Lietz, Enlöhstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 26.
- ⁴⁰Harold B. Dunkel, Herbart and Education (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 113.
- ⁴¹Lietz, "Was bedeuten Universitäts-Seminar und Übungsschule für die DLEH," quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 183.
- ⁴²Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 76.
- ⁴³Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 42.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., p. 44.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., p. 43.
- ⁴⁶"Einer seiner Seminaristen wurde 1892 Hermann Lietz, den Rein später selbst als seinen bedeutendsten Schüler aus der grossen Zahl ehemaliger Mitglieder des 'Pädagogischen Universitäts-Seminars' bezeichnet." Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der Ersten DLEH, p. 48. Bauer refers to an article by Rein, "Einige Erinnerungen an Hermann Lietz," in the Pädagogische Zentralblatt, 8. Jg., Heft 3, p. 156.
- ⁴⁷Lietz, "Was bedeuten Universitäts-Seminar und Übungsschule für die DLEH," quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 183. Brickman summarizes this influence of Rein upon Lietz: "In short, Lietz attributed to his activity as a student and teacher under Rein much of the theory and practice of the LEH, the joy in teaching, and the all-important conception 'vom Erzieherberuf als einer notwendigen und dringenden heiligen sittlichen und vaterlandischen Aufgabe an unsere Jugend.'" Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 184.

⁴⁸Wilhelm Rein, "Zur Geschichte der Landerziehungsheime," in the Vierteljahrsschrift für philosophische Pädagogik, 7. Jg., Heft 3 (November, 1926), p. 111; quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 183.

⁴⁹Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 182.

⁵⁰Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 50. Bauer demonstrates the similarity of Rein's Übungsschule with Lietz's conception of the Erziehungsschule, with a quote from Rein's article "Zur Pädagogik and der Universität Jena von 1843-1923": "Die grossen Überlieferungen, die von Pestalozzi her lebendig waren, Schulspaziergänge, Schulreisen, Werkunterricht, Turnen, Spiel und Sport, dramatische Aufführungen, Pflege des Gesanges, und was alles dem Gemeinschaftsleben der Schule Glanz und Frische verleiht, konnten den jungen Pädagogen zeigen, was die 'Erziehungsschule' will und wie sie ihre Gedanken ins Werk setzt." Vierteljahrsschrift für philosophische Pädagogik, 7. Jg. (1926), p. 32; quoted in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 50.

⁵¹Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 183.

⁵²Charles DeGarmo, Herbart and the Herbartians (New York: Scribner's, 1912), p. 20; and Friedrich Paulsen, Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts, II (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1921), p. 712.

⁵³Gabriel Compayre, Herbart and Education by Instruction (London: Harrap, 1908), p. 82.

⁵⁴Herbart, quoted in Ibid., pp. 72-73.

⁵⁵Herbart, quoted in Ibid., p. 107.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 108.

⁵⁷Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 72.

⁵⁸Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 25.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 25.

⁶⁰Gustav Wyneken, in a source not noted, claimed that Lietz's Herbartianism was little more than a façade used to impress officials. Wyneken maintained that there was little of Herbart in the actual day-to-day life in the Heime, that Lietz sort of "played it by ear," drawing off of his own experience rather than Herbartian theory.

⁶¹Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 88.

⁶²Ibid., p. 88.

⁶³"Die aus metaphysisch-idealistischen Grundlagen seiner (Herbart's) Philosophie etwickelte ethische Zielsetzung der Erziehung sowie der Gesellschaftlich konservativ, in der Konsequenz reactionäre Charakter seiner Lehre entsprachen im Kern genau dem Weltbild, dem Wesen und Wollen von Lietz." Ibid., p. 89.

⁶⁴Hermann Lietz, "Das Recht des Kindes und das Recht der Nation am Kinde nach den Grundanschauungen der DLEH," quoted in Ibid., p. 90. Bauer writes: Herbart versuchte den Unterricht zum erziehenden umzugestalten; aber auch der in diesem Sinne umgestaltete Unterricht reicht 'für die Zwecke der Erziehung der Jugend nicht aus'....Bei allem wollte er die gesinnungs bildende Funktion des erziehenden Unterrichts, wie sie Herbart fordert, nicht einengen, sondern die erzieherische Einwirkung auf alle Bereiche und auch auf alle Fächer ausgedehnt wissen." Ibid., p. 89.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 97-98.

⁶⁶Hermann Lietz, "Schulreisen in deutschen Landerziehungsheim," in Schulreform durch Neugründung.

⁶⁷Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 40.

⁶⁸Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 73.

⁶⁹Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 49.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 46.

⁷¹Ibid., quoted in Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, pp. 74-75.

⁷²The owner of the school, the son of its founder, had not completed his theological studies and could not, by law, fill the position of director. Lietz was hired as a teacher, but was reported to the school authorities as the director. Only much later, when the Dresden officials demanded that he present himself to them, as required of all headmasters, did Lietz discover the duplicity of his employer. He allowed himself to be talked into continuing this deception for a time, but later, while embroiled in a conflict with the owner concerning the latter's excessive use of physical punishments, Lietz tried to assume the directorship in

fact, and was summarily fired. The relative correctness of Lietz's behavior was attested to by the fact that all the other teachers, but one (who later married the owner), resigned in protest of Lietz's being fired. Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, pp. 77-80.

⁷³Ibid., p. 77.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 78-79.

⁷⁵Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 56.

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 55-56.

⁷⁷Theo. Fritsch, "H. Lietz als Privatschullehrer in Kötzschenbroda," Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts, g. 27, Heft 4; quoted in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 56.

⁷⁸Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 80.

⁷⁹Alfred Andreesen, "Cecil Reddie," in Leben und Arbeit; quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 216.

⁸⁰Knoll, Elitebildung, p. 11.

⁸¹Rein, "Einige Erinnerungen an H. Lietz," quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 214.

⁸²Lietz, quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 212.

⁸³Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 60.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 80.

⁸⁵Skidelsky, Progressive Schools,

⁸⁶Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 207; internal quotes from Cecil Reddie, Abbotsholme 1889-1899 (London: G. Allen, 1900), pp. 115-116.

⁸⁷Reddie, Abbotsholme, p. 134.

⁸⁸Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 207.

⁸⁹Reddie, Abbotsholme, p. 135.

⁹⁰Reddie, Abbotsholme, p. 142; quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 208.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 77.

⁹²Skidelsky, Progressive Schools, p. 96.

⁹³Quoted in Ibid., p. 93.

⁹⁴Quoted in Ibid., p. 100.

⁹⁵Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 104.

⁹⁶Skidelsky, Progressive Schools, p. 98.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 104.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 110.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁰⁰The Abbotsholme schedule is from Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 104. The Haubinda schedule is from Hermann Lietz, "Zur Organisation der Land-Erziehungs-Heime," in Dietrich, Die Land-erziehungsheimbewegung, p. 20.

¹⁰¹Quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 211.

¹⁰²Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, pp. 81-82.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁰⁴Both quotes are from Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 217.

¹⁰⁵Meyer, Modern European Educators, p. 102.

¹⁰⁶Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 61.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁰⁸Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," pp. 218-219.

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¹Albert Schweitzer, The Philosophy of Civilization, I, The Decay and Restoration of Civilization (New York: MacMillan, 1957), p. 56.

²Hans-Joachim Schoeps, Unbewältigte Geschichte (Berlin: Haude und Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964), p. 95.

³Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, p. 2.

⁴Rudolf Eucken, Rudolf Eucken: His Life, Work and Travels (New York: Scribner's, 1922), pp. 195-196.

⁵Egon Friedell, A Cultural History of the Western World, IV (New York: Knopf, 1954), pp. 340-341.

⁶Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, p. 12; Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 21.

⁷George Moore, Confessions of a Young Man (New York: Capricorn, 1959), pp. 145-146, 243.

⁸Schweitzer, Philosophy of Civilization, pp. 78, 83.

⁹Ibid., pp. 97.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 17, 20-21.

¹¹Ibid., p. 19.

¹²Ibid., p. 73.

¹³Hermann Lietz, "Schulreform und Schulprüfung," in Lassahn, ed. Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 49.

¹⁴Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 41.

¹⁵Walter Schafer, Paul Geheeb (Stuttgart: Klett, 1960), p. 24.

¹⁶Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 9.

¹⁷Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, pp. 50-51.

- ¹⁷Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, pp. 50-51.
- ¹⁸Paul Geheeb, quoted in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 59.
- ¹⁹Georg Kerschensteiner, The Schools and the Nation, quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 175.
- ²⁰Schafer, Geheeb, p. 26.
- ²¹Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 194.
- ²²Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 20.
- ²³Hermann Lietz, Die Deutsche Nationalschule (Leipzig: Voigtlander, 1911).
- ²⁴Ibid., in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 83.
- ²⁵Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, p. 2.
- ²⁶Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 8.
- ²⁷Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, p. 2.
- ²⁸Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Addresses to the German Nation (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 10-11.
- ²⁹In his essay, "Erinnerungen an Hermann Lietz," Wyneken made the claim that Lietz had not intended that the school system be reformed after the example of the Landerziehungsheime, but, rather, got the idea first from himself. That Lietz had ambitions of reforming the public education after the model of the Erziehungsschule, however, was stated as early as Emlohstobba, some three years prior to meeting Wyneken.
- ³⁰Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 19.
- ³¹Fichte, Addresses, p. 113.
- ³²Ibid., pp. 39-40.
- ³³Ibid., p. 216.

- ³⁴Ibid., p. 12.
- ³⁵Ibid., pp. 18-19, 17.
- ³⁶Ibid., pp. 35, 38.
- ³⁷Ibid., p.17.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 12.
- ³⁹Ibid., p. 13.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 152-154.
- ⁴¹Ibid., p. 26.
- ⁴²Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 41.
- ⁴³Fichte, Addresses, p. 153.
- ⁴⁴Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 7.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 7-9.
- ⁴⁶Fichte, Addresses, p. 28.
- ⁴⁷Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 180.
- ⁴⁸Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 41.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 41.
- ⁵⁰Hermann Lietz, "Paul de Lagarde," Die Wahrheit (Stuttgart), II (August, 1894), pp. 241-252.
- ⁵¹Hermann Lietz, Die neue Zeit und das neue Geschlecht (Veckenstedt: Verlag des Landwaisenheims, 1918).
- ⁵²Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 179.
- ⁵³Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 13.

⁵⁴Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, p. 68.

⁵⁵A. Herget, Die wichtigsten Strömungen im Pädagogischen Leben der Gegenwart, II, quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 179.

⁵⁶Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, p. 160.

⁵⁷Robert W. Lougee, Paul de Lagarde: A Study of Radical Conservatism in Germany (Cambridge: Harvard, 1962), p. 137.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 137-138.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 137.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 143.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 120.

⁶²Ibid., p. 146.

⁶³Ibid., p. 141.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 131.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 130.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 147.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 130.

⁶⁸"The nation...is an organism and as an organism its 'living power' lies in the awareness of each member of his unique and vital role and his will to be spiritually one with all the rest." Ibid., p. 129.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 128.

⁷⁰The substance of this paragraph was taken from Fritz Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology (New York: Anchor Books, 1965), pp. 54-58.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 82.

⁷²As to who had been reborn, Lougee paraphrases Lagarde's answer as: "He who for the sake of God bears all, despises the 'good life,' does not fear death, and looks to the eternal life. God is in him and such a man is free and joyous." Lagarde, pp. 135-136. George Mosse quotes Lagarde's definition of a "free man": "Free is he who is able to follow the creative principle of life; free is that man who recognizes and makes effective innate principles which God put within him." Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, p. 35.

⁷³Lougee, Lagarde, p. 203.

⁷⁴"The true aim of man, the one prescribed not by his shifting inclinations but by his eternally unchanging reason, is the highest possible cultivation of his powers to form a harmonious whole." Wilhelm von Humboldt, quoted in W. H. Bruford, Culture and Society in Classical Weimar 1775-1806 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 418.

⁷⁵Lougee, Lagarde, pp. 205-206.

⁷⁶Rudolf Eucken, His Life, pp. 47-48.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 53-54.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 47.

⁷⁹Rudolf Eucken, The Problem of Human Life as Viewed by the Great Thinkers from Plato to the Present Time (New York: Scribner's, 1912).

⁸⁰Although Rudolf Eucken was by profession a philosopher, he saw his calling as essentially religious. In a similar way Lietz, though he worked as a teacher, considered himself to be engaged in a deeply religious task. Eucken, in his autobiography, wrote: "My ideal was to be a spiritual leader and counsellor to the people in our distracted and uncertain age...", and that his goal was "to deliver contemporary life from a pronounced insincerity from which it suffered, and to bring about an inner elevation of, in fact revolution in, the human condition." Eucken, His Life, pp. 151, 153.

⁸¹In a review of Eucken's Main Currents of Modern Thought: A Study of the Spiritual and Intellectual Movements of the Present Day (New York: Scribner's, 1912), William A. Brown called attention to Eucken's vagueness when discussing the "spiritual life": "It is an all-comprehensive reality, independent of man, yet kindred to him in spirit, wide enough to include in its catholic embrace all his own

highest interests, art, religion, philosophy, morals, growing with his growth, yet already in some sense complete and perfect, the satisfaction of all wants, the goal of all desires, the standard for all endeavor, at once transcendent and immanent, at once task and goal, at once inspiration and reward. Such language, to be sure, suggests the mystic intuition of religion rather than the exact definition of philosophy..." In Yale Review, II (April, 1913), pp. 589-592.

⁸²Meyrick Booth, Rudolf Eucken: His Philosophy and Influence (New York: Scribner's, 1913), p. 32.

⁸³Eucken writes: "I conceived the spiritual life as essentially ethical, in the broader sense, not intellectualistic. I have always regarded intellectualism as an impoverishment of life, yet fully recognized the importance of conceptual activity." His Life, p. 128.

⁸⁴W. Tudor Jones, An Interpretation of Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy (London: Williams and Norgate, 1912), p. 139.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 55.

⁸⁶Meissner, Asketische Erziehung, p. 15.

⁸⁷Eucken quoted in Booth, Rudolf Eucken, p. 132.

⁸⁸Eucken, The Problem of Human Life, p. 565.

⁸⁹John Raphael Staude, Max Scheler 1874-1928: An Intellectual Portrait (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 12.

⁹⁰Eucken, His Life, pp. 124, 125.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 127.

⁹²Eucken, The Problem of Human Life, p. 553.

⁹³Ibid., p. xvii.

⁹⁴Staude, Max Scheler, p. 13.

⁹⁵In his book, Socialism - An Analysis, Eucken lists six criticisms of socialism: "(1) It cannot give unity to the life process. (2) It

fails to understand man's need for an inner life. (3) It makes the present the only significant moment in man's life, cutting him off from past and future. (4) By reducing men to mathematical equality, it fails to appreciate genuine cultural and spiritual differences among men. (5) Espousing no higher faith than naturalism, it reduces social life to a struggle of man against man. (6) By considering man in purely economic terms, it stunts and aborts his true nature." (Eucken, Rudolf Christoph (1846-1926)," in Encyclopedia of Philosophy, III, (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 134-135.

⁹⁶Eucken, His Life, p. 111.

⁹⁷Eucken, Main Currents, pp. 374-375.

⁹⁸Eucken, His Life, p. 199.

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¹Lietz, "Ein Rückblick..." in Die Landerziehungsheimbewegung, pp. 41-42.

²Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 67.

³Ibid., p. 67.

⁴Lietz, "Ein Rückblick..." in Die Landerziehungsheimbewegung, p. 42.

⁵Wynken, "Erinnerungen an Lietz," in Kutzer, ed. Zeugnisse seiner Zeitgenossen, pp. 76-77. Emphases supplied by the author.

⁶Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, p. 2.

⁷Ibid., p. 5.

⁸Lietz, Nationalschule, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 86.

⁹Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," pp. 92-93.

¹⁰Lietz, quoted Ibid., p. 93.

¹¹Lietz, quoted Ibid., p. 92.

¹²Lietz, quoted Ibid., p. 94.

¹³Lietz, Nationalschule, quoted in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 73.

¹⁴Hermann Lietz, "Der Gründungsaufwurf von 1898," in Die Land-erziehungsheimbewegung, p. 15.

¹⁵Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 23.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁷Lietz, quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 137.

¹⁸Lietz, quoted Ibid., p. 94.

¹⁹Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 9.

²⁰Lietz, quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 146.

²¹Ibid., p. 146.

²²Lietz, quoted Ibid., p. 98.

²³Ibid., p. 99.

²⁴Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, pp. 51-52.

²⁵Lietz, Emlohstobba, quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 139.

²⁶Wunder, quoted Ibid., pp. 97-98.

²⁷Hermann Lietz, Von Lebenserfahrung und Lebensaufgaben, quoted Ibid., p. 96.

²⁸Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, p. 102.

²⁹Hermann Lietz, "Die Erziehungsgrundsätze des DLEHs," in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 147.

³⁰Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 14.

³¹Karsen, Deutsche Versuchsschulen, p. 64.

- ³²Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 21.
- ³³Ibid., p. 26.
- ³⁴Lietz, Emlohstobba, quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 76.
- ³⁵Lietz, quoted Ibid., p. 97.
- ³⁶Lietz, Emlohstobba, quoted in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 68.
- ³⁷Ibid., p. 68.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 68.
- ³⁹Ibid., p. 75.
- ⁴⁰Lietz, Nationalschule, quoted in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 77.
- ⁴¹Lietz, "Die ersten drei Deutschen Landerziehungsheime - Zwanzig Jahre nach der Begründung," quoted in Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 136.
- ⁴²Wilhelm II's speech quoted, in part, in James E. Russell, German Higher Schools (New York: Longmans, Green, 1910), p. 106.
- ⁴³Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 75.
- ⁴⁴Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 12.
- ⁴⁵Lietz, Nationalschule, in Ibid., p. 87.
- ⁴⁶Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, pp. 46-47.
- ⁴⁷Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, p. 108.
- ⁴⁸Lietz, "Schulreform und Schulprüfung," in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 42.
- ⁴⁹Stefan Zweig, Die Welt von Gestern: Erinnerungen eines Europäers (S. Fischer, 1962), p. 43.

⁵⁰Albert Schweitzer, Memoirs of Childhood and Youth (New York: MacMillan, 1958), pp. 63-64.

⁵¹Lietz, in a letter from the year 1910, quoted in Meissner, Asketische Erziehung, pp. 108-109.

⁵²Meissner, Asketische Erziehung, p. 54.

⁵³Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 284.

⁵⁴Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 94.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 86.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 82-83.

⁵⁷Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 7.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 22.

⁵⁹Andreesen, Hermann Lietz, pp. 100-101.

⁶⁰Alexander and Parker, The New Education in the German Republic, p. 181.

⁶¹Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, p. 8.

⁶²Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 78.

⁶³Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 20.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 27.

⁶⁵Meissner, Asketische Erziehung, p. 38.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 38.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 38.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 15.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 95.

- ⁷⁰Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 37.
- ⁷¹Ibid., pp. 37, 42.
- ⁷²Quoted in Meissner, Asketische Erziehung, p. 17.
- ⁷³Quoted in Ibid., p. 110.
- ⁷⁴Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 84. Emphases supplied by myself.
- ⁷⁵Lietz, "Schulreform und Schulprüfung," in Schulreform durch Neugründung, p. 52.
- ⁷⁶Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 119.
- ⁷⁷Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 94.
- ⁷⁸Lietz, Emlohstobba, in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 70.
- ⁷⁹Lietz, Nationalschule, in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 82.
- ⁸⁰Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, p. 60.
- ⁸¹Lietz, Nationalschule, in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, pp. 85-86.
- ⁸²Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 239.
- ⁸³Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 121.
- ⁸⁴Wyneken, "Erinnerungen an Hermann Lietz," in Kützer, ed. Zeugnisse seiner Zeitgenossen, p. 100.
- ⁸⁵Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 251.
- ⁸⁶Lietz, "Ein Rückblick..." in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 119.
- ⁸⁷Lietz, quoted Ibid., p. 120.

⁸⁸Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 120.

⁸⁹Alexander and Parker, The New Education in the German Republic, pp. 182-183.

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 182-183.

⁹¹Schäfer, Geheeb, p. 26.

⁹²Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 104.

⁹³Ibid., p. 104.

⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 91-93.

⁹⁵Brickman, "Hermann Lietz," p. 240.

⁹⁶Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 158.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 126.

⁹⁸Quoted Ibid., p. 126.

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¹Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 138.

²Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, pp. 8-9.

³Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 106.

⁴Eucken, His Life, pp. 208-209.

⁵Lietz, Not und Hoffnung, p. 16.

⁶Lietz, "Was bedeuten..." quoted in Bauer, Theorie und Praxis der ersten DLEH, p. 22.

⁷Lietz, Lebenserinnerungen, p. 41.

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